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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation of the  
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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

### THE ANN ARBOR MEETING

To enhance the retrospective pleasure of those two hundred and fifty (a record number!) who attended the twenty-third annual meeting of our association, to express again our appreciation of the hospitable university which opened wide its doors to us, to felicitate President Stout and all those whose careful preparatory work contributed so largely to the undoubted success of the meeting, but more especially to bring the annual meeting in some small measure at least to the great and wide-spread majority of our members who were not present to enjoy it at first hand, we are writing this review, in the hope that we may reproduce some of the high spots at least of this meeting.

We were entertained at the Michigan Union, a commodious and very comfortable clubhouse for Michigan's students and alumni. The local committee had done its work well and the whole program proceeded to the end with no annoying hitch. Notable among past annual meetings was the large number of rare and interesting exhibits, consisting of various objects illustrative of Greek, Roman, and Oriental antiquity, also inscriptions, manuscripts, paintings, etc. Not the least interesting element in connection with these exhibits was the thought that many of the objects are the fruit of the University's own archaeological expeditions, the latest of them at Carthage, under the direction of the veteran explorer, Kelsey, who received an enthusiastic ovation when he was introduced to present his illustrated lecture Friday night on "New Lights from Graeco-Roman Egypt."

The program of papers maintained the usual high standard expected at our annual meetings. A selection of them will appear in later issues of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.

The high-water mark of the program came with the paper of Professor R. S. Conway, of the University of Manchester and president of the British Classical Association. His paper was on "The Chivalry of Vergil," a paper which, we are glad to promise our readers, will appear in a later number of the *JOURNAL*.

Professor Conway prefaced his address by a message of good cheer from the British association to our own, which latter he congratulated on its large membership, its happy alliance with the sister associations of the eastern and far western states, and above all for its remarkable success in securing a circulation of six thousand for its organ the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, a figure which, he confessed, was almost enough to make the founder and sometime chairman of the Classical Journals Board in England turn green with envy.

Professor Conway brought news also which he thought would be encouraging to all lovers of learning, namely the great increase which had taken place in England since the war in the number of boys and girls studying Latin and Greek. The number of students of Greek has been doubled since 1918, while the number of Latin students has been multiplied by six. This remarkable increase he attributed to two causes. The positive cause was to be found in the efforts of the Classical Association, with its twenty or more branches, which had greatly stimulated popular interest in classical study by making people conscious of the relation of this to the vital interests of everyday human life.

The negative cause (here Professor Conway desired it to be understood that he was expressing only his unofficial and private opinion) lay, he was convinced, in the deliverance of classical study from the grave enmity of a multitude of thoughtful and powerful people. This change had come about by the abolition of the compulsory requirement in Greek which, down to 1919, had been laid by Oxford and Cambridge on all candidates for degrees, in science as well as in literature. The result of remov-



ing this requirement, which in Greek (though not in Latin) it was hard to justify, and which in practice had become an exasperating farce, had been, not to destroy Greek, but to double the numbers of those who studied it seriously, that is, for two or three years (not for a mere three months, which had been the time usually given to meet the old requirement), and that, too, in the very schools where the defenders of compulsory Greek had expected it to vanish. Greek was also developing well in the younger universities and the new schools which they influenced.

Whatever the cause, the figures were remarkable and pointed to a real development of public feeling in favor of the classics. In the *London Times* of November 15, 1926, a table appeared showing the expansion in the numbers of the candidates in Greek and Latin under the two chief examining boards, that of Oxford and Cambridge, which had in all subjects about six thousand candidates, and that of the point matriculation board of the allied younger universities, which had more than twice as many. This table showed that, whereas in 1918 there were 805 candidates in Greek and 1794 in Latin, in 1926 there were 1515 candidates in Greek and 11,116 in Latin.

The most encouraging increase was in the schools which looked to the younger universities, the increase in these schools having been more than fivefold in both Greek and Latin. This meant an almost wholly new development in many schools which had never seriously attempted the subjects before. Similar expansion in classical study was taking place in France, and had set in again in Germany after the convulsion of the revolution, and he looked forward with complete confidence to the future of classical studies.

No business of special importance came before the association. The officers chosen for the ensuing year were: for President, Charles E. Little, of George Peabody College for Teachers; first Vice-President, Dorothy M. Roehm, Northwestern High School, Detroit; the Secretary-Treasurer, W. L. Carr, was continued in office. The Executive Committee appointed Roy C. Flickinger, of the University of Iowa, Business Manager of the *JOURNAL*.

The cordial invitations offered jointly by Vanderbilt University and George Peabody College were accepted, and we shall accordingly be going to Nashville for our next annual meeting.

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This is the final issue of the *JOURNAL* for the school year. The editors again thank those whose contributions have made this volume, and the readers whose interest has made it so large.

And in particular the editors-in-chief express their grateful appreciation to Professor Joseph W. Hewitt, who has for three years served as Editor for New England and has compiled "Recent Books." For the last year and a half he has continued this work in spite of the heavy duties which came to him when he was elected Secretary and Treasurer of the American Philological Association. He now resigns to spend his sabbatical year abroad. Professor Harry M. Hubbell, of Yale University, has been elected Editor for New England by the Classical Association of New England.

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The October number will be sent to every member of the Association. Your copy will be sent to your present address unless you notify the Secretary of a change. Every year hundreds of copies have to be mailed back to the Secretary, after endless trouble and at no small expense, because teachers have not notified him of changed addresses. He will be grateful to every one who does notify him.

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Those who have back numbers of the *JOURNAL* which they do not care to keep are asked to note an advertisement inserted by the Secretary in this number. They may be able to help him supply the demand for complete volumes or sets.

## NOTES ON THE PATHETIC FALLACY IN LATIN POETRY <sup>1</sup>

By ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE  
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The imaginative phenomenon known as the "pathetic fallacy," that incorrectness in the observation of external objects due to our ascription to them of strong emotions under which we are ourselves laboring, was not unknown to earlier critics, but owes its name and its type description to John Ruskin in the third volume, chapter twelve, of his *Modern Painters* (1856), who has amply illustrated it from modern literature and remarked upon its rarity in Homer.<sup>2</sup> Men are divided, Ruskin maintains, into three classes: the unpoetic, who perceive correctly because they have no feeling to deflect their vision; the second-class poets, who perceive wrongly because their perception is hindered by their feeling; and the great poets, who, in spite of strong feelings, are still able to perceive aright. Later critics have modified, combated, or tacitly rejected Ruskin's views, yet the term "pathetic fallacy" has proved too convenient to be abandoned. The purpose of the present paper is to consider to what extent this feature, which we are likely to associate especially with romantic literature, is to be found in classical Latin poetry.<sup>3</sup> But to make this search intelligible it is needful to summarize several stages of antecedent Greek thought, which, in various forms, the Latin largely imi-

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Classical Association of New England, at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, April 10, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Though in chap. xiii he thinks it more frequent in Aeschylus and Aristophanes than in Homer, he furnishes no specific evidence for this view.

<sup>3</sup> For the examples to be cited from Latin literature I am in part greatly indebted to collections made by Mr. Gregory M. Mazer for a master's thesis prepared at the University of Illinois in 1922 (as yet unpublished). Various critical studies which have proved helpful will be cited in due course.

tated; and in this summary I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the studies of others, particularly Alfred Biese.<sup>4</sup>

In Homer, as in earlier Greek art,<sup>5</sup> the delineation of a background of Nature as an emotional setting for the actions and feelings of man appears very infrequently, if at all; the Homeric heroes had no personal relations to Nature, and natural descriptions are but a temporal or spatial frame for human nature.<sup>6</sup> Observation of man's surroundings, however, early led to comparisons between his life and external natural phenomena, especially in the form of simile and metaphor,<sup>7</sup> and in some cases of metaphorical expression the transition from mere figure to the pathetic fallacy had been early almost accomplished.<sup>8</sup>

Another element preparatory to the pathetic fallacy is to be found in personification,<sup>9</sup> a figure so easily arising from naive

<sup>4</sup> Biese's works which I have here used are: (1) *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen* (1882); (2) *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Römern* (1884); (3) *The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (Engl. trans. 1905).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hardie, *Lectures on Classical Subjects* (1903), 9. Shairp, *On Poetic Interpretation of Nature* (1890), 107-108, compares Nature in Homer to the far-off mountain and sky backgrounds of Raphael and other old masters.

<sup>6</sup> Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Gr.*, 7-19; *id.*, *Development*, etc., 14; Fairclough, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature* (1897), 7, and works there cited. Schiller's view (*Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795)) of the ancient-naive as contrasted with the modern-sentimental seems to have rested in part upon his imperfect knowledge of Greek literature apart from Homer; cf. Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Gr.*, 3; Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, 3 ed. (1904), 246-249.

<sup>7</sup> Biese, *Development*, etc., 4 (quoting Vischer, *Ueber den optischen Form-sinn*), 14; Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 7; Butcher, *op. cit.*, 268-270. Good examples are *Od.* xix. 518-523; Catull. 65. 10-14; Verg. *Aen.* iv. 511-515.

<sup>8</sup> A good Latin case is Verg. *Georg.* iii. 278-279; *Auster nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum*. Did this sadness but correspond to an emotion on the part of the observer we should have the pathetic fallacy, as in Tennyson, *The Daisy*: "The gloom that saddens Heaven and Earth," where the aspect of the elements mirrors the feeling of the poet. For cases of such metaphors in Greek cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 274-276.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, 16 ed. (1925), 88: "one of the most noxious tendencies of the mind—namely, personification. It is one of the most virulent enemies of clear thinking." Cf. Biese, *Development*, etc., 14. Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 71, notes an increasing personalizing of Nature from Aeschylus, where it is infrequent, through Sophocles to Euripides.



animistic notions that it is at times almost impossible to say just where literal belief in an individual spirit indwelling in tree, plant, or stream comes to an end and purely figurative and artistic imagery begins. For example, if a poet invoke the sympathy of dryads or water nymphs,<sup>10</sup> whether this is to be classed as sincere belief, or a half naive and unreflective survival of such, or as mere figurative decoration, must be determined less by the language used than by the philosophic outlook of the writer. A further variety of the same principle of personification is found in those metamorphoses so dear to the late Greek and Roman literature. What wonder if the nightingale still weeps for Itylus,<sup>11</sup> if the sisters of Phaethon, transmuted into trees, continue their grief for their dead brother in tears of amber,<sup>12</sup> if blood drips from the bushes where Polydorus was buried,<sup>13</sup> if human beings metamorphosed into birds still cry with tearful sounds,<sup>14</sup> and if the petrified Niobe still weeps for her children?<sup>15</sup> In such instances Ovid, from the nature of his subject matter, naturally abounds.

But a yet nearer approach to the pathetic fallacy is found in the doctrine of the sympathy of all things, which became a prominent feature of certain types of philosophic thought, particularly among the Stoics.<sup>16</sup> If all things are conceived as moving in a certain sympathy with one another, then we should seem justified in demanding from objects about us — even from those seemingly inanimate — not, perhaps, an emotional response to our individual feelings, but one in harmony with that universal mood of which

<sup>10</sup> E. g., Aesch. *Prom.* V. 144. In Ap. Rhod. i. 1065-1066; Bion l. 19; Mosch. 3. 26-28; and *Anth. Pal.* vii. 412. 5-6 in Greek, and Verg. *Ecl.* v. 58-59; *Georg.* iv. 460-461; Ov. *Met.* xiii. 689; *Carm. Lat. Epig.* ed. Engström, No. 153. 4, among the Romans, the situation has passed far away from any primitive and real belief. On this subject cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 249-252.

<sup>11</sup> *Od.* xix. 518-523; Catull. 65. 10-14; Verg. *Georg.* iv. 511-515. On transformations cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 288.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. Rhod. iv. 603-626; Ov. *Met.* ii. 364-366; x. 262-263; Plin. *N.H.* xxxvii. 31; xxxvii. 40-41.

<sup>13</sup> Verg. *Aen.* iii. 27-29.

<sup>14</sup> Verg. *Aen.* xi. 274.

<sup>15</sup> Other cases are Daphne (Ov. *Met.* i. 553-567) and Syrinx (*id.*, i. 707-708).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pease on Cic. *de Div.* ii. 34, and works there cited.

we and our spirits are a part.<sup>17</sup> Often our desire for comfort or appreciation is satisfied by the real sympathy of other human beings, but when this fails we are thrown back upon Nature herself,<sup>18</sup> toward which pantheistic beliefs have always shown a particular tenderness.<sup>19</sup> By this doctrine of sympathy a philosophic explanation seemed to be offered for the occurrence of omens and portents, which, though varying concomitantly with the events which they presaged, yet had no apparent direct causal connection with them.<sup>20</sup> The part played by such omens is so familiar as to require no comment, save to note in passing the dramatic effect which they often lend to a story,<sup>21</sup> and to emphasize one type,

<sup>17</sup> Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Gr.*, 20-64, on this sympathetic feeling for Nature, especially in Greek lyric and drama.

<sup>18</sup> An intermediate stage is perhaps to be found in the sympathy of the brutes, particularly the domesticated animals, for man in his distress or joy. From Homer on horses have wept (*Il.* xvii. 426-427; Verg. *Aen.* xi. 89-90; Plin. *N.H.* viii. 157-158) or been expected to sympathize (*Il.* xix. 400-424; xxiii. 403-416; Verg. *Aen.* x. 861-865; Samter, *Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923), 89-91); domesticated cattle have grieved (e.g., Theocr. 1.74-75; 4.12; Verg. *Ecl.* 5.24-26; 10. 16-17; Longus 1.31-32; and other cases to be cited); or dogs have wept (Bion 1.18). From these instances, perhaps with a basis in real fact, the principle was extended to the wild animals, as in the response of the brute creation to the charms of Orpheus, St. Francis, or St. Anthony of Padua, the various forms of omens from speaking animals (Pease on Cic. *de Div.* i. 73), and the vast development of the beast fable. On the endowing of animals with human feelings cf. also Page, ed. of Verg., *Bucolics and Georgics*, Introd. xxxiii-xxxiv. The converse, the grief of men for dead pets (e.g., Catullus and Lesbia's sparrow) is so obvious as to need no comment. An appeal to Nature is sometimes made as a last resource, after man has failed; cf. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 15-16. This is particularly the case when witnesses are required for that for which there is no opportunity to secure reliable human beings; e.g., the appeal to natural forces by Prometheus at the end of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, and the frequent addresses to the all-seeing sun, as in Verg. *Aen.* iv. 607; cf. also Butcher, *op. cit.*, 282.

<sup>19</sup> Biese, *Development*, etc., 5. Among Roman writers this feeling is perhaps first to be found, not among the Stoics, but in the less philosophical digressions of Lucretius; cf. Shairp, *op. cit.*, 156. As an example might be cited Lucr. i. 6-20.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Pease on Cic. *de Div.* i. 29.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., the moping owl of Verg. *Aen.* iv. 461-463 or xii. 861-865; the thunder of *Aen.* iv. 167-168; the earthquake as Aeneas and the Sibyl prepare for the descent to the underworld (*Aen.* vi. 255-258).

the ratifying omen — thunder, lightning, sounds, etc. — the appearance of which often seems to pave the way for the pathetic fallacy by indicating a very definite response in the inanimate or the brute creation around us to the thoughts, doubts, or fears in our own minds.<sup>22</sup> All important in the case of any omen is its acceptance by the observer as appropriate and probably related to his own situation,<sup>23</sup> and here we find a complement to the pathetic fallacy, for in accepting an omen we recognize in our own experience a mirror of that of Nature, while in the pathetic fallacy the mood of Nature seems a reflection of our own.

When to personification and the doctrine of sympathy we add that exaggeration of the ego resulting from increasingly self-conscious individualism,<sup>24</sup> solitary introspection,<sup>25</sup> and an indoor or town life, less capable of precise observation of Nature,<sup>26</sup> in short, the subjectivity of the poet rather than the objectivity of the scientist,<sup>27</sup> then the stage is set for the occurrence of the pathetic fallacy in its most typical forms. "The temperament which admits the pathetic fallacy," according to Ruskin,<sup>28</sup> is "that of a mind and body in some sort too weak to deal fully with what is before them or upon them; borne away, or over-clouded, or over-dazzled by emotion; and it is a more or less noble state, according to the force of the emotion which has induced it."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> E. g., Ap. Rhod. i. 1142-1148; Catull. 64. 202-206.

<sup>23</sup> Pease on Cic. *de Div.* i. 104; Sen. *N. Q.* ii. 32. 6; Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 16-17.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Shairp, *op. cit.*, 164.

<sup>25</sup> On the importance of solitude in producing sentimentality cf. Biese, *Development*, etc., 15, who points out that Euripides, the most illustrative of such feelings among the tragedians, frequented a lonely grotto by the sea; cf. Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Gr.*, 64; Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 75.

<sup>26</sup> Fairclough, *l. c.*; Butcher, *op. cit.*, 257-259.

<sup>27</sup> Hardie, *op. cit.*, 4; 34-35. The part played by scientific studies is touched on by Butcher, *op. cit.*, 254-257.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, chap. xii, p. 158 (1884 ed.).

<sup>29</sup> To the mind directed solely toward objective truth (as in the passage already quoted from Robinson's *Mind in the Making*) such inexact observation is anathema; Ruskin, speaking rather as an artist, rates it as inferior to the mind affected by but rising superior to the emotions, yet as more praiseworthy than correct observation insensible to the emotions. Contrast Royds, *Virgil and Isaiah* (1918), 41: "But law is a cold thing. Poets and prophets have

Some of the various forms of the pathetic fallacy may be briefly reviewed before we undertake an examination of its different moods. A lyric poet might well reproduce it as a part of his sincere emotional experience, in a sort of spiritual direct discourse, but most of the instances in Latin literature fall in other literary genera, particularly the pastoral, in which the author has employed it as a technical device, analogous in the literary field to what elaborate effects of stage lighting or orchestral accompaniment are in the dramatic.<sup>80</sup> Such, for example, may be considered the stormy background for the nuptials of Aeneas and Dido in the cave in the fourth *Aeneid*.<sup>81</sup>

Again, the most effective cases of the pathetic fallacy rest upon misinterpretations, conscious or unconscious, of real phenomena. In the striking example cited by Ruskin from Tennyson's *Maud*:

for a vast speculation had fail'd,  
And ever he mutter'd and madden'd, and ever wann'd with despair,  
And out he walk'd when the wind like a broken worldling wail'd,  
And the flying gold of the ruin'd woodlands drove thro' the air,

the wail of the wind and the yellow leaves furnish a plausible excuse for the imagination of the ruined speculator, just as when

always risen above it, and in so rising have fallen into the 'pathetic fallacy.' The world is all the richer for their mistake." Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, chap. ii: "Alas!" replied Butler, "what are we, that the laws of nature should correspond in their march with our ephemeral deeds or sufferings? . . ." "The mind delights to deem it otherwise," said Sir George Staunton; "and to dwell on the fate of humanity as on that which is the prime central movement of the mighty machine, etc." Ruskin in another passage (*op. cit.*, 194) declares that "exactly in proportion as the idea of definite spiritual presence in material nature was lost, the mysterious sense of *unaccountable* life in the things themselves would be increased, and the mind would instantly be laid open to all those currents of fallacious, but pensive and pathetic, sympathy which we have seen to be characteristic of modern times." A parallel might perhaps here be drawn to the increase of grosser superstition which has often been remarked as the concomitant of a decline in legitimate religion.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 59 for this feature in Euripides. Butcher (*op. cit.*, 262) would find the surrounding landscape in the pastoral the cause rather than the effect of the emotional moods accompanying it, maturing and sustaining the imaginative life of those who move upon the scene.

<sup>81</sup> Verg. *Aen.* iv. 160-168.



the Heliades weep amber tears for Phaethon,<sup>32</sup> birds wail or mope,<sup>33</sup> the earth blooms and seas smile before the coming of Venus,<sup>34</sup> the waves tremble before the sight of the frightened Ariadne,<sup>35</sup> the golden bough seems too reluctant to suit the eager haste of Aeneas,<sup>36</sup> the forests are hushed at the name of Caesar,<sup>37</sup> and echo answers the sad or happy cries of men.<sup>38</sup> A more artificial, insincere, and hence unconvincing type of the pathetic fallacy is that in which the reader can recognize little or no basis in natural phenomena, as when rocks grieve or rejoice,<sup>39</sup> streams pause,<sup>40</sup> the hills are troubled,<sup>41</sup> or thresholds shed tears.<sup>42</sup> The explanation of these frigid conceits is partly, I think, a mere tasteless desire to outdo one's models, and partly to be found in the later Greek and Roman fondness for the marvelous<sup>43</sup>—often closely associated with the romantic—and their essential unreality is further obvious from the fact that some of them are not infrequently employed in the rhetorical figure of the *ἀδύνατον*.<sup>44</sup>

The pathetic fallacy may be further divided into the sympathetic fallacy, in which man sees his own mood more or less perfectly mirrored in Nature,<sup>45</sup> and what we may call the antipathetic

<sup>32</sup> Cf. n. 12 *supra*.

<sup>33</sup> E. g., Eur. *I. T.* 1089; Phryn. ap. Athen. ii. 21; Mosch. 3. 38; Verg. *Aen.* iv. 461-463.

<sup>34</sup> Lucr. i. 6-20. In most cases, however, Lucretius is too much of a scientist to yield to such illusions; cf. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 34-35.

<sup>35</sup> Catull. 64. 128.

<sup>36</sup> *Aen.* vi. 210-211; cf. the *morantis portas* of *Aen.* vii. 620-621, the *adversae harenæ* of iii. 38, and the *fugientem Italiam* of v. 629.

<sup>37</sup> Calpurn. 4. 97.

<sup>38</sup> E. g., Soph. *Philoct.* 187-190; Bion 1. 38; Apul. *Met.* v. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 5. 63; *Anth. Pal.* vii. 10.

<sup>40</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 412. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Theocr. 7. 74; Verg. *Georg.* iv. 461.

<sup>42</sup> Propert. iii. 25. 9. A cumulative example of this type is found in Calpurn. 2. 51-54, closely imitated by Nemes. 2. 44-49; cf. Tennyson, *Maud*, 22, 10.

<sup>43</sup> The change in the course of the sun in its horror at the banquet of Thyestes may be cited as an example (Eur. *Elect.* 737-742; *I. T.* 193-195; Sen. *Thy.* 784-804; also *Thy.* 101-121, etc.); cf. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 14; 27.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca* (1925), 60, n. 6; Pease on Cic. *de Div.* i. 84 (*dum bestiae loquantur*).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Coleridge, *Dejection*, 4:

fallacy, in which human emotions are contrasted with the resistance or the apathetic stolidity of all that is external. While a sympathetic background makes an appropriate frame for a strong emotional mood, it at times appears that the possibilities of dramatic contrast afforded by the antipathetic type are even more effective. As illustrations of the latter may be cited Burns's

Ye banks and braes o' bonny Doon,  
How can ye bloom sae fresh and fair,

and its context; or, more strikingly, the familiar passage in the fourth *Aeneid*, beginning

Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem  
Corpora per terras, etc.,<sup>46</sup>

where the intense passion of the love-sick Dido is enhanced by the beautiful tranquillity of Nature, serving somewhat the artistic purpose of those happy and confident choruses which sometimes appear in Greek tragedy just before the horror of a scene of recognition and disillusionment.<sup>47</sup> It is lovers, perhaps, who are most often resentful of the heartlessness of external nature. To the abandoned Ariadne the winds are unresponsive or cruel;<sup>48</sup> in Propertius the prayers of the lover fall on the *ingratum litus*;<sup>49</sup>

O Lady! we receive but what we give,  
And in our life alone does Nature live:  
Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud!

<sup>46</sup> *Aen.* iv. 522-532 (imitated from Ap. Rhod. iii. 744-765; iv. 1058-1067); cf. ix. 224-228; also Eur. *I. A.* 9-19 (and Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 56-67), and perhaps the contrast implied in Catull. 7.7-8. Other examples are the cave scene in *Aen.* iv. 160-168, and *Aen.* iv. 584, where the brightness of the dawn is in sharp contrast to the grief of Dido at the departure of the fleet of Aeneas; cf. Anderson, *A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 15.

<sup>47</sup> E. g., Soph. *O. T.* 1086 ff. Shairp, who well describes this form of the pathetic fallacy (*op. cit.*, 117-119), remarks that the sense of this "Inhuman and Infinite side of Nature—that side which yields no response to man's yearnings, and refuses to make itself plastic under even the strongest power of emotion . . . lay heavy on Lucretius and Shelley, sometimes on Wordsworth, and drew out of their souls some of the profoundest music."

<sup>48</sup> Catull. 64.164-166; cf. 64.186 (does the suggestion perhaps come from the ποφαῖς . . . μωπαύρας of Callim. fr. 67?); Ov. *Her.* 10.29; 10.113.

<sup>49</sup> i. 17.4; cf. i. 15.12. On the sea as the type of the inhuman indifference of Nature cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 267.

the *invida hiems* interferes with the love of Hero and Leander,<sup>50</sup> as the *invida paries* blocks that of Pyramus and Thisbe.<sup>51</sup> The brutal insensibility of the door of the ladylove becomes, of course, a commonplace of the παραλανσιθυρον.<sup>52</sup> Elsewhere it is with mourning that the contrast is connected, as in the appeal of the mother of the dead Daphnis to the cruel stars,<sup>53</sup> or the description of Antimachus as burying his dear one beneath the tearless earth.<sup>54</sup> A further step — and one definitely away from the proper form of the pathetic fallacy — is reached when the regularly recurring beauty of vernal nature arouses in the observer resentment or depression as he thinks of the transitory character of human existence. Thus Moschus<sup>55</sup> bewails: "Ay me! when the mallows and the fresh green parsley and the springing crumpled anise perish in the garden, they live yet again and grow another year, but we men that are so tall and strong and wise, soon as ever we be dead, unhearing there in a hole of the earth sleep we both sound and long a sleep that is without end or waking." And in Latin literature one thinks at once of Catullus:<sup>56</sup>

Soles occidere et redire possunt;  
Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,  
Nox est perpetua una dormienda,

or of the ghastly death which intrudes upon Horace's two spring songs,<sup>57</sup> or, again, of the haunting lines of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ov. *Her.* 18. 120. The context of the *flucti immisericordes* of Acc. *Clut.* 33 Ribb. is lost, so that we cannot safely speculate about its significance; but the deaf rocks and waves to which Cassandra appeals in Lycophr. 1451-1453 are a part of the mechanism of the pathetic fallacy.

<sup>51</sup> Ov. *Met.* iv. 73.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Canter in *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 41 (1920), 355-368; but also Propert. iii. 25. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 5. 23.

<sup>54</sup> Hermesianax ap. Athen. xiii. 71.

<sup>55</sup> 3. 99-104 (Edmonds' translation).

<sup>56</sup> 5. 4-6.

<sup>57</sup> *Carm.* i. 4. 13-20; iv. 7. 7-16; cf. Tib. i. 4. 29.

<sup>58</sup> Lines 89-90. So De Quincey, *Works*, 3, 444: "I find it impossible to banish the thought of death when I am walking alone in the endless days of summer."

Illa cantat; nos tacemus? quando ver venit meum?  
 Quando faciam uti chelidon vel tacere desinam?

Shall she sing and I be silent? When, oh, when shall come my  
 spring?

When shall I be as the swallow, or refrain no more, but sing?

We have now reached the commoner type of the pathetic fallacy, that in which Nature is in sympathy with the human emotions rather than in contrast to them; and here several types are recognizable, corresponding to the emotions which most often seek their analogues in Nature. Most prominent is grief<sup>59</sup> for a sad or untimely death,<sup>60</sup> and this is an outstanding feature in the pastoral<sup>61</sup> and other types of Alexandrian literature<sup>62</sup> and in Latin writers<sup>63</sup> who imitate and extend it to other forms of grief. Such lamentation, especially in so imitative a style as the pastoral, tends, like the *consolatio*, to standardization and consequent frig-

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Birrell ed., 4, 167: "We are apt to transfer to all around us our own gloom, without considering that at any given point of time there is, perhaps, as much youth and gaiety in the world as at another." Butcher (*op. cit.*, 281-282) notes in Philostr. *Imagines* ii. 4 the description of a painting in which mountains, under the guise of women tearing their cheeks, bewail the untimely death of Hippolytus. On pp. 283-284 he further cites from the *Rāmāyana* an example of the pathetic fallacy appearing in a description of grief.

<sup>60</sup> Various instances are collected by Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 15; 30-31; 55-56. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 13-14, would not admit the Aeschylean illustrations (which are all from the *Prometheus Bound*, as in lines 88; 447-448), on the ground that Prometheus is not a man but a divine figure with whom Nature is in sympathy; but this objection seems oversubtle, for in the *sufferings* of Prometheus it is his human qualities which are constantly stressed. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 277, accepts cases in the *Prom. V.* as genuine instances of the pathetic fallacy.

<sup>61</sup> Theocr. 1. 71-75; 7. 74; Bion 1. 18-19; 1. 32-38; Moschus 3. 1-50; Verg. *Ecl.* 5. 20-28; Milton, *Lycidas*.

<sup>62</sup> E. g., Ap. Rhod. iv. 603-626; Quint. Smyrn. i. 293-299 (not quite a typical instance); Phryn. ap. Athen. ii. 21; Longus i. 31-32; *Anth. Pal.* vii. 10; vii. 412. 5-6.

<sup>63</sup> Verg. *Georg.* iv. 460-463; *Aen.* vii. 759-760; Ov. *Met.* ii. 329-330; ii. 364-366 (cf. x. 262-263); viii. 513-514; xi. 44-49; *Remed.* 606; *Trist.* i. 4. 9-10; Propert. iii. 3. 45-46; Val. Fl. iv. 374; Sen. *H. F.* 1054-1062; *Thy.* 105-121; *H. O.* 1868-1902. A further variant is the visible and literal grief of the hyacinth; Plin. *N. H.* xxi. 66.



idity, of which the first fifty lines of Moschus' *Lament for Bion*<sup>64</sup> are perhaps the extreme instance, being the longest sustained example of the pathetic fallacy I have found in ancient literature, and far exceeding anything known to me in Latin. At other times Nature is pictured as sympathetic with man in the cares of love,<sup>65</sup> as sharing or reflecting his loneliness,<sup>66</sup> fear,<sup>67</sup> horror,<sup>68</sup> wonder,<sup>69</sup> awe,<sup>70</sup> excitement,<sup>71</sup> or joy,<sup>72</sup> and even as conniving in his deceptions.<sup>73</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that emotions of sadness, loneliness, or horror appear more frequently in the form of the pathetic fallacy than do those of joy, probably because, while joy is self-sufficient, it is when human consolations fail that the mind is most impelled to fly as a last resource to fancied reactions in Nature. And though natural beauty and tranquillity may form the dramatically contrasted setting for human unrest — as in the *nox erat* passage in the fourth *Aeneid* — I recall no instance in

<sup>64</sup> Shairp, *op. cit.*, 114, cites a similar, but less mannered, case from Sir Walter Scott; and Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Gr.*, 78, compares the Old Norse laments of Heaven and Earth for the dead Balder.

<sup>65</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 10.13-16. In Apul. *Met.* v.25 the mild river will not harm Psyche when she throws herself into it. Cf. also Butcher, *op. cit.*, 286-287, for the reconstruction of a passage in Callimachus.

<sup>66</sup> Note especially the series presented by Theocr. 8.37-48; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.55-60; Calpurn. 3.51-54; Nemes. 2.44-49. Other cases are Mosch. 3.22; 3.63; Catull. 64.56-57; Propert. i.17.2; i.18.1-2; Longus 1.32.

<sup>67</sup> Catull. 64.128 (where the forsaken Ariadne runs out *tremuli salis adversas . . . in undas*); Verg. *Aen.* viii.239-240; Propert. iii.11.51. Thus Shairp notes (*op. cit.*, 163) "that at the beginning of the sixth book [of the *Aeneid*], as the Sibyl draws nigh, the earth rumbles, the mountains quake, as if sharing the human dread at her approach."

<sup>68</sup> Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 57; Hardie, *op. cit.*, 14; Sen. *Thy.* 105-121 (the sun reversing his course in horror). In Verg. *Georg.* i.466-468 the sun covers his head in eclipse in pity at the death of Caesar. The author of the treatise *de Sublim.* 15.7 remarks upon the magnificent meteorological effects by which the death of Oedipus is attended (Soph. *O. C.* 1604 ff.).

<sup>69</sup> Verg. *Aen.* viii.91-93.

<sup>70</sup> Calpurn. 4.97.

<sup>71</sup> Verg. *Aen.* xii.445.

<sup>72</sup> In addition to the first four cases in n.66 *supra* may be cited the examples from Greek tragedy collected by Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 56-59; Callim. *Hymn.* 2.22-24; Verg. *Ecl.* 5.58-64; *Aen.* x.409; Anon. *Lydia* 16-20; Longus 1.32.

<sup>73</sup> Verg. *Aen.* ii.255: *tacitae per amica silentia lunae*.

which a harsh and grewsome background is set for human calmness and joy, save in those cases, like the cavern nuptials in the same book, in which the setting is ominous of an impending change in man's fortune for the worse. So powerful, then, is dramatic pessimism that, while the grimness of the elements may bode men ill, for those who are in calamity the restful calm of what lies about them seems to bring little augury of alleviation.

Since I cannot claim to have made any exhaustive collection of instances of the pathetic fallacy even in Latin, it is perhaps of little significance to discuss its relative frequency in individual authors;<sup>74</sup> yet the importance of Vergil in this respect should not be left unmentioned, for he stands in striking contrast to Homer<sup>75</sup> in all that relates to the picturesque and romantic, and to the sympathy of man and Nature. Cases of the pathetic fallacy in the *Eclogues* may be explained on the ground of artistic imitation of the conventions of the Greek pastoral, but less easily the instances in the *Aeneid*, where some of them seem a part of his own habits of thought.<sup>76</sup> Shairp<sup>77</sup> well remarks:

Received into Virgil's heart the outward world becomes colored with some of the melancholy of the poet and his time. Not that to Virgil's eye there was any sadness in Nature herself, but in his hands Nature becomes so humanized, it so lends itself to human joys and sorrows, that these cast their own gleams, and still more their own shadows, on that, in itself, unimpassioned countenance. This sympathy between man and Nature Virgil apprehended more feelingly than any other Roman poet; and in this, as in so many other things, we find in him an anticipation of the modern time.

Whether this feature of Vergil's thought is to be explained by a Celtic strain in his inheritance, as some have supposed, and whether, as Matthew Arnold maintained, the origins of the magic and mystery of Nature in modern literature are to be traced to

<sup>74</sup> Biese, *Development*, etc., 17, thinks the Romans more advanced than the Greeks in their feeling for Nature, and more subjective, abstract, self-conscious, reflective, and modern; cf. his *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Römern*, 3.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Biese, *Entw. d. Nat. b. d. Römern*, 78-79; Shairp, *op. cit.*, 166.

<sup>76</sup> Hardie, *op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>77</sup> *L. c.*

Celtic sources,<sup>78</sup> I shall hardly venture to determine; yet, while Celts may have been predisposed toward the pathetic fallacy, enough has been already said to show that it is so abundantly and thoroughly grounded in later Greek literature as to make a Celtic monopoly, or even a Celtic invention, of this artistic device unlikely.

Later phases of the poetic thought of Nature, in which man is brought into mystical harmony with it rather than Nature into an illusory sympathy with man, and in which Nature is treated for its own sake,<sup>79</sup> or, again, that approach toward scientific objectivity which may appear when one has passed completely through the stage of the pathetic fallacy and emerged disillusioned on the other side,<sup>80</sup> are also subjects that lie outside my theme. Nor do I feel called upon to defend the pathetic fallacy against its detractors or to refute the arguments in its defence; between the apostles of scientific enlightenment and the apologists for imaginative and artistic illusion, here, as elsewhere in life, there will ever remain a truceless struggle. It is enough, perhaps, for the literary historian, *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*, and preserving an Academic suspense of judgment, to trace the part which logic has played in making life reasonable and imagination in rendering it endurable.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 3. Ap. Rhod. iv. 611 explains the story that the Heliades wept amber tears over the fate of Phaethon as a tale which had arisen among the Celts.

<sup>79</sup> Biese, *Development*, etc., 14; Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 7-8. Sometimes this in itself leads to contrasts superficially resembling the antipathetic form of the pathetic fallacy; e. g., Lucr. ii. 1; Tib. i. 1. 45; Val. Fl. ii. 41-42; also nn. 58-61 *supra*.

<sup>80</sup> Ruskin's third type; cf. the beginning of this article.

## ET DONA FERENTIS<sup>1</sup>

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The thesis I am defending in this paper is that *Aeneid* ii. 49 means in effect, "I fear the Danaans even when they are worshipping. I wouldn't trust a Greek on oath." This is no original suggestion; but since most English, American, and German editors disregard such an interpretation, it seems worth while to review the evidence.

Tiberius Claudius Donatus in his paraphrase labored out in the fourth century the interpretation of this line which has passed into a proverb.<sup>2</sup> The existence of the commonplace about the gifts of an enemy being dangerous has led to the pigeonholing of Vergil's phrase with it without adequate warrant. Such is the power of an epigrammatic wording that people are not apt to re-examine what is neatly put and pleasing to the ear. Otto<sup>3</sup> likewise says that the verse contains, as Servius already noticed, an allusion to the Greek proverb, ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα καὶκὶ δνήσιμα, found in Soph. *Aj.* 665. There is a resemblance between the two, and Vergil may have been playing on the meaning of the Greek; but I do not think the sentiments are by any means identical. Further, Servius cannot rightly be said to notice any such allusion, unless one begs the question by reading into his commentary a preconceived idea of the meaning of *dona* here. The line itself he merely paraphrases in the closest wording. *Donum exitiale* in

<sup>1</sup> Read before the American Philological Association, Cambridge, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> See Lutphen, *AJP*, XXII, 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Sprichwörter*, s. v. *donum*; cf. Zenob. iv. 4 and Eur. *Med.* 618 cited there, *RhM*, XXXVIII, 420, and *Archiv L. L.*, VIII, 402. Schott in Gaisford, *Paroem. Gr.*, I, 304 on Zenob. *l. c.* compares the exchange of gifts by Hector and Ajax, *Il.* vii. 299 ff. and Aeneas' sword given to Dido, *Aen.* iv. 647; Servius on *Aen.* iv. 496 is probably his source. See Leutsch's note on Greg. *Cypr.*, *Cod. Leid.* ii. 15 in Leutsch et Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.*, II.



vs. 31 he annotates *quantum ad Troianos*; that is, fatal in its bearing on the Trojans, naturally not fatal to Minerva to whom it was supposed to be an offering. Had Servius thought *donum* here meant *present* rather than *offering*, his explanation would have been superfluous. If the robe of Nessus should be referred to as a fatal gift, no respectable commentator would feel the necessity of adding, "to the recipient." *Exitiale* is inserted proleptically by one wise after the event. As a matter of fact, Servius makes the allusion Otto refers to on *Aen.* iv. 496, in a much more natural context. In his note on vs. 36, he catches the true psychology of the situation. He says: "One who is advising the destruction of the horse does well to call it not 'the offering to Minerva' but 'the treachery of the Danaans' and 'suspected offerings' — that is, as I should say, offerings suspected of being no offerings."

Martial (iv. 56. 4) has what is probably a neat play on this passage. He is speaking of a legacy-hunter, and naturally the *dona* in that case are not to a god; but the contrast is the same. The line runs, *Qui potes insidias dona vocare tuas*.

The matter of psychology is important here. All must recognize that the horse was not represented or regarded as a gift to the Trojans from their enemies. Those who still, however, cling to the proverbial interpretation must adopt the evasion of Ladewig (1855): "In as far as the Greeks left the horse behind in the camp which after their departure fell into the hands of the Trojans, it can be called a gift for the Trojans (cf. vss. 36, 44, 49); in as far as it was built according to the plan and at the direction of Minerva, it can be called a gift for Minerva." In his 1882 edition he says, "The gift for the goddess indirectly concerns the citizens."

The question is, in which light was the wooden horse mainly regarded? What impression would be dominant in the mind of a poet describing it? It should be useful to trace this point through pertinent passages in their chronological order. *Aeneid* ii. 15-38 is in obvious imitation of *Odyssey* viii. 493-511. *Pal-ladis arte* (15) is balanced by *σὺν Ἀθῆνῃ* (493); *arce locare* (33) and *insidias* (36), by *ἐξ ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε* (494); *sic fata*

*ferebant* (34), by αἶσα γὰρ ἦν (511); *praecipitare* (37), by κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν (508); *terebrare cavae* (38), by διαπλῆξαι κοῦλον (507). Now one of the suggestions of the *Odyssey* passage is that the horse be left as a great appeasing offering for the gods, but there is no suggestion of its having been given to the Trojans. In the Ἰλίου Πέροισι the plan which won out was to dedicate it to Athena. Accius in his *Deiphobus* writes, "The Danaans departing proclaim this as an offering to Minerva potent in arms."<sup>4</sup> In the Vergil passage itself we read: "by divine art of Pallas" (15), "They pretend it is a votive offering for their safe return; this rumor spreads" (17), "fateful gift to Minerva" (31), "All hope of the Danaans . . . always rested on the aid of Pallas" (162 f.), "this in place of the Palladium" (183), "gifts to Minerva" (189), the serpents "make for the citadel of Tritonia" (226), "sacred . . . oak" (230), "The *simulacrum* must be drawn to her temple and the divine will of the goddess sought" (232 f.). Minerva is in the foreground of consciousness all the while. Propertius speaks of the wooden horse of Palladian art (iii. 9. 42). Petronius in his verses in close imitation and virtual paraphrase of Vergil (*Sat.* 89. 10) says that the Greeks "are concealed in their votive offering." This plainly is the prominent idea in the story.

Again, we may consider the word *donum*. Aelius Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* v. 9. 27 says that *donum* is applied to offerings to gods, *munus* to presents to men. Isidore in his *Etymologies* says, *Dona proprie divina dicuntur, munera hominum*, "Whence," he adds, "also in temples we speak of *donaria*," repositories of offerings. We know of course that this distinction is not rigidly adhered to. But *donum* is used of offerings in Accius, Afranius, Plautus, Catullus, Lucretius, Cicero, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, Vergil, Livy, Seneca, Martial, Valerius Flaccus, and in Mediaeval Latin. In the *Aeneid* the word is used 10 times of gifts of men to men, 7 times of gifts of gods to men, and 21 (22) times of offerings of men to gods — nearly three times as often in a sacred context as in present-giving. (These statistics count the several occur-

<sup>4</sup> Ribbeck, *Frag. Trag.* 2, p. 152.

rences in one incident as one and regard offerings to the dead as to gods, the *di manes*. Figures in parentheses include the passage in dispute as referring to an offering.) As to *munus*, on the other hand, some 57 of the 71 occurrences in Vergil refer to presents of men to men.

These statistics give a certain background for the passage under discussion and create a presumption in favor of the interpretation being urged. I claim nothing more for them. But much more significant is the fact cited by Forcellini *s. v.* that the phrase *dona ferre* is oftenest used of sacrifices and offerings made to a god. In Vergil this phrase is employed only twice of gifts between men, once of a gift from god to men and 8 (9) times of offerings of men to gods.<sup>5</sup> The ratio is then 9 (10) to 2 in favor of the latter. *Dona ferre* is not used of presents between men in Plautus, Catullus, Lucretius, Caesar, Cicero, Tibullus, Propertius, Horace, Martial, or Tacitus. It is used of offerings to gods in Catullus, Ovid repeatedly, Propertius, Vergil, and Seneca. The use of δῶρον and δῶρα φέρειν in Greek is less sharply defined.

Servius has already been cited in favor of the thesis of this paper, as have Aelius Donatus and Isidore. The poet of *Carmen* II of the sixth century<sup>6</sup> Vergilian *Codex Vaticanus* 3867, who signs himself "Ovidius Naso," writes *Fallaces Graios simulataque dona Minervae*; which is very like the *suspecta dona* of Vergil in Servius' commentary, the "offerings" which merely pretend to be so. Wagner (1849) says, "*Dona*, because the horse was destined to be a dedicatory offering for Minerva." Dübner (1858), "They twist the sense from the truth, in supplying *nobis* or *Trojanis*, who misuse this verse as a proverb." Benoist (1869) agrees and adds, "It is not in reality to the Trojans that the Greeks wished or seemed to give the horse, it is to Minerva." Duvaux (1886) claims that the proverb rests on a false interpretation. A recent editor, LeJay (1919), votes with these.

<sup>5</sup> *Aen.* i. 679; vii. 155. *Ibid.* viii. 609. *Ibid.* ii. 49 (?); v. 101; vii. 86 f.; viii. 76, 284; ix. 407, 626; xi. 479; *Georg.* iii. 22.

<sup>6</sup> See Schanz *Röm. Lit.*, VIII, ii, 8, p. 110.

Dishonest devotions were naturally not unknown to the Romans. "No piety is it," cries Lucretius (v. 1198) in a burst of Hebraic magnificence, "often to *be seen* veiled, turning aside to a stone and drawing near to all altars or falling forward prostrate and stretching out palms before shrines of gods or bespattering altars with much blood of four-footed beasts or weaving vows with vows — but rather to be able to gaze upon all with a mind at peace." Or, in a whim of maudlin piety, Trimalchio laments (Petr. *Sat.* 44), "No one cares a rap for Jove, but all when they close their eyes (during prayer) count up their possessions." Tibullus (ii. 1. 84) directs the shepherd to pray openly to Amor for his flock but secretly for himself. And Horace (*Epist.* i. 16. 59 ff.) comments on this form of Pharisaism picturesquely, "When 'Father Janus!' loudly, and loudly 'Apollo!' he has said, he barely moves his lips, fearing to be overheard, 'Fair Laverna, allow me to cheat. Grant me to *seem* just and above reproach. Draw the night over my sins and a cloud over my deceits'." When this general proneness to insincerity in religion was aggravated by the prejudice against "Greek faith," Vergil could have Laocoon cry, "I fear the Danaans even at their devotions!"

## ON THE THEORIES OF DREAM INTERPRETATION IN ARTEMIDORUS<sup>1</sup>

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The work of Artemidorus Daldianus on the interpretation of dreams enjoys a well-deserved neglect. The most recent edition, that of Hercher, Leipzig, 1864, is out of print; and of the very few articles dealing with the *Onirocritica* that have appeared within the last generation, most have been in psychological publications. That being so, a prefatory word about this laborious, pseudo-scientific effort of the second Christian century may not be out of place. It is based on the assumption that all dreams, except those which clearly reflect the regular occupations or physical condition of the dreamer, are sent by the gods and, if properly understood, are unfailing indications of some future event. The first three books are addressed to a Roman of good birth interested in the art, by name Cassius Maximus. The first two books contain, after a general introduction to the subject, a painstaking classification of dreams and their proper fulfillments together with the reasons why the fulfillment is to be expected. The third book supplements this list with an unorganized collection of dreams which had been overlooked. The fourth and fifth books are addressed to the son of Artemidorus, who is expected to follow in his father's profession. The first of these contains much good advice to the beginner in the art, arguments by which he can confound scoffers and rivals, and many examples and explanations intended to clear up points left obscure in the first three books. The fifth book, which concludes the work, is a collection of ninety-five dreams and their fulfillments by the study of which the younger Artemidorus may profit. We are constantly reminded by

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England, Worcester, Massachusetts, April 22 and 23, 1927.



the writer that his whole work is based on actual dreams with the events which actually followed them and not upon conjecture (e.g., 197,12),<sup>2</sup> although he sometimes gives some place to analogy (120,7).

Artemidorus himself suggests several classifications of dreams based on the relation of the dream to its fulfillment, but with one exception (4, 8) these are unimportant and can be neglected. The exception, however, will serve us as a starting point. Some dreams are clear and direct pictures of the future. For example, a dream of shipwreck is followed by an actual wreck. This type of dream needs no interpretation and nothing more need be said of it. Other dreams are allegorical and test the ingenuity of the interpreter to the utmost; indeed some dreams cannot be understood until after the event (217,5). Allegorical dreams are the only ones which concern this discussion.

There is always some point of similarity between the object or act of the dream and the event which it foretells. In many cases if we can determine that which the dream represents, or, if I may use the expression, that of which we have seen the dream-equivalent, the meaning of the dream is at once clear. If, for example, a tapeworm represents an enemy who is sharing one's table, a dream in which one gets rid of a tapeworm means the discovery and removal of such an enemy (172,7). But many cases are not so simple. After determining what the object or act in the dream signifies, this must be brought into relation, for better or for worse, with the dreamer. For a man to dream that he is born again means that he will in some way become like a baby. But in what way? If the dreamer is poor, he will receive a protector; if rich, he will lose control of his affairs; if a slave, he will be loved but not freed; and the like (17,14).

I shall first take up the matter of dream-equivalents, and then the second and often unnecessary step by which is established the relation of that which is indicated by the dream to the individual dreamer.

<sup>2</sup> References are to pages and lines in Hercher's edition and give the line at which the passage in question begins.

A connection must be established between that which is seen in the dream and that which it foretells. This connection may be made in any of a considerable number of ways: for example, by means of some proverbial expression, by some mythical or historical story, by any of a number of varieties of verbal quibble, or by some point of similarity between the two. This last is by far the most numerous and important class and will be considered first.

The ways in which similarity is discovered are many and defy anything like complete classification. There may be some points of likeness in the action of the dream and its fulfillment. Cranes coming down in flocks indicate the approach of enemies or robbers, while cranes flying alone are of good omen for a journey (114,4). A stream, since it goes where it wishes and is accountable to no one, is the dream representative of a judge or a master. Naturally, if the stream runs clearly, it foretells good treatment, if it is muddy and turbulent, ill treatment from master or judge. Since the stream is ever moving, it may also foretell a journey (122,6).

Again, rather than action, it is the use to which the dream object may be put which gives it its significance. The squill is a bad sign for farmers since it is not edible, but a good sign for herdsmen as it is a poison for wolves. The squill is used in purifications and so indicates relief from troubles, or, if the dreamer at the time has no worries, troubles from which he will need to be freed (187,20). This last follows a principle to be mentioned later. Another example of similarity in use is in a dream in which a *choinix* is defiled. The *choinix* is used as a measure, and a measure acts as a standard. The dream, therefore, foretold an act contrary to the established customs of the Greeks (258,11).

In a number of cases the relation is one of cause and result. The act or object of the dream is one that would naturally bring about the condition which later actually comes into being though not due to the cause indicated. Dreams dealing with courts and judges foretell confusion and despair and untimely expense

(125,3). Somewhat akin are the dreams where both the dream and the fulfillment, though themselves quite different, may be considered as the cause or result of a like condition. A man taking a boy wrestler to Olympia dreamed that he sacrificed the boy and buried him in the stadium. The boy won his contest. Both burial and victory are causes of inscriptions, and the dead and the victorious are both called happy (269,16).

The character and disposition of the person or animal in a dream may be prophetic. A fox is a secret enemy (104,9), as a wolf is an open one (104,3). To see one's stepmother is always bad, while a vision of a stepfather is only less so (178,16). An object dear to one represents something occupying a similar place in the affections. A woman dreamed that her eyes hurt and her children became ill. Another dreamed her children were ill and her eyes gave her trouble (218,1). A man dreamed his beloved was dead. He himself shortly after died, thus losing what was dearest, his life (6,25).

The location in which one seems to be in a dream is at times the essential fact. One dreamed that he was bound to the steps of Isthmian Poseidon; he became a priest of that divinity (254,11).

These will serve as examples of the hundreds of dreams recorded by Artemidorus in which the dream and its outcome are related by some point of likeness. I have purposely chosen simple cases and often simplified even these. A complete classification would be a difficult task as well as an utterly useless one. Enough has been said to show the method, and we now pass to more ingenious and perhaps more interesting types.

Proverbial expressions and common metaphors are of use to the interpreter. A dream of having one's nails cut presages trickery from the cutter, for we say the man deceived by someone has had his nails cut (24,15). The sun means freedom if seen by a slave, for men call freedom the sun (133,22). The poets are sometimes cited as authority. To be unable to speak means poverty, as Theognis says: "Every man broken by poverty can

neither speak nor accomplish anything, but his tongue is tied" (33,21).<sup>3</sup>

The dream which contains a reference to a mythical or historical story is to be interpreted in the light of the story, but evidence of this sort must be handled with caution. Artemidorus warns his son that if the myth or story is one whose truth is certain, such as the stories of the Persian and Trojan Wars, it is to be fully trusted. Sometimes also myths which are perhaps false but are commonly accepted as true, for example, the stories of Prometheus and of Niobe, foretell an outcome similar to the myth. If the myth is "wholly out of date and full of nonsense and foolishness, like the stories of the Battle of the Giants or of the Spartoi at Thebes and Colchis," it does not foretell a conclusion like the story but merely vain and empty hopes (229,19). A few examples of mythical dreams will be sufficient. To dream of Leucothea is good for those who work on the sea, but to all others she portends sorrow because of her story (144,1). A dream of Cora foretells trouble (145,2). A dream of a crown made of narcissus is bad for all, but especially for those who have to do with water (70,4). A man seemed to seek his son at the Isthmus; because of the myth of Melicertes, the son died (261,22).

As one would expect, verbal quibbles of all sorts play their part in the explanation of dreams. We are prepared for anything after the etymologies of *ὄνειρος* early in Book i (4,4). The significant dream is called *ὄνειρος* either because it arouses the soul (*ὀρεῖν* [sic] *τὴν ψυχὴν*), or because it speaks the truth (*τὸ ὄν εἰρεῖν*). Similar anagrams and word divisions are found in the interpretations. The ax represents womanly work, work because it is useful and womanly because of the name. Apparently *γένυς*, the edge of an ax, equals *γυνή* (117,25). When Alexander at the siege of Tyre dreamed of a satyr, his interpreter was inspired to divide *Σάτυρος* into *σά Τύρος*, and, encouraged by this, Alexander took the city (217,15). Artemidorus, however, has his doubts about such interpretations and advises his son to use

<sup>3</sup> Theognis, vv. 177-178.

them to impress others but not to trust them himself (216,19).

Homonyms and near homonyms seem to be of more value in his eyes. A dream about Artemis is good, for she will make one ἀρτεμής, safe and sound (132,16). To dream of a ram, κριός, indicates that one will become politically powerful, κρείων (100,13). Crowns of wax, κηρός, are bad for all, since the ancients call death κήρ (71,15). To eat goats' flesh is good for winter business; χμαίρειος and χειμέριος were practically homonyms to Artemidorus (63,21).

Words having two or more meanings, usually one literal and one figurative, are of the greatest use. Death means, among other things, marriage, for both death and marriage are called τέλος (150,11). But τέλος also means victory in the games, and a dream of death may point to this (150,24). A man dreamed he was wounded in the foot by a javelin falling from heaven. He was bitten in the heel by the javelin snake, ἀκόντιον, and died (265,8). A man desiring children dreamed that a debtor paid him what was due and received a receipt. No children were born, for when a debt is paid there is no more τόκος (248,16).

One last group must be considered. Since each letter has a numerical value, we can arrive by addition at the total value of any word, and words of equal values, ἰσόψηφα, can be considered equal. This method should be used only to confirm other signs; for example, an old woman naturally suggests death, and, as if to confirm this, γραῦς ( $3 + 100 + 1 + 400 + 200$ ) and ἡ ἐκφορά ( $8 + 5 + 20 + 500 + 70 + 100 + 1$ ) each equal 704 (217,2). Any growth from the body, such as a tumor, is a loss to the body, and κήλη and ζημία are each equal to sixty-six (185,23). Somewhat similar to these is the dream in which the letter rho, 100, appears alone. This foretells any one of its *isopsepha* (181,22).

Thus far little has been said about fitting the interpretation of the dream to the individual. Artemidorus tells us again and again that the reader of a dream must inquire not merely the details of the dream, but also the circumstances of the dreamer. In many cases, as we have seen, the person of the dreamer must be considered in the very first step of the interpretation, and the



explanations of two like dreams of two different individuals follow entirely different courses. Thus the goat is bad for sailors, since they call large waves "goats." It is of ill omen for those contemplating matrimony, since goats feed alone (100,18). On the other hand, the first step in the interpretation may be the same for various individuals, and a more or less distinct step be needed to fit the interpretation to the individual. For a man to dream that he gives birth to a child, means that he is to put away something he has possessed. In the case of a sick man this is his life, for one in trouble and difficulty it is his trouble, for a rich man his wealth, etc. (18,25). In most cases these two steps in reasoning seem to be present but not to be recognized or distinguished by the interpreter.

It is possible to discover a few general principles which are usually followed in this connection. If the dream indicates, directly or indirectly, something which is fitting and appropriate to the dreamer, whether this be good or indifferent in itself, the dream presages good. For an Egyptian priest to shave his head (23,23), or for a man in public life to dream of a golden crown, is good (72,1). If the dream indicates something, even though it be itself good, which is inappropriate for the dreamer, it is usually bad. Shaven heads are bad for most men, and a golden crown foretells torture to the slave. Sometimes a dream of this type indicates a change to a condition where the dream will become appropriate. Just as encouragement in a dream indicates success to those who have failed, so for the man who is fortunate it portends misfortune in which he will need encouragement (183, 21). A dream which indicates a good not at present enjoyed by the dreamer but within the bounds of reason is good and usually foretells the gain of that good. On the other hand, if one already possesses the advantage in question, the same dream may indicate its loss. Throughout we find that care is taken that all interpretations shall be possible of fulfillment in the case of the individual.

We find little trace in Artemidorus of the belief that dreams go by contraries, a belief referred to in the well-known letter of

Pliny to Suetonius in regard to the latter's dream.<sup>4</sup> While the fulfillment of many dreams seems contrary to the dream, a good reason can usually be given. To dream one is mad is good for all: for those at the beginning of a task, since madmen do whatever they will without restraint; for teachers, since boys follow madmen; for poor men, since madmen receive alms from all; and for the sick, since madmen run and leap (184,28). Only in the case of the emotions are we to go by opposites. The soul, we are told, is something akin to the surrounding air, and as the air changes from clear weather to storm and back again, so it is natural that our soul is turned from grief to pleasure and joy, and from joy to sorrow. Therefore dreams of grief indicate coming joy, and dreams of joy foretell grief (155,6).

Such in its main outlines is the system which we can gather from the examples and precepts of Artemidorus. Such were the explanations he gave as he foretold coming events for his clients. But he himself had his doubts. Do not mistake me. He had no doubts of the truthfulness of the dreams sent by the gods, who cannot lie, or of the possibility of man's interpreting these by observing and comparing dreams and fulfillments of the past. What he doubted was the very system which we have been developing, the system which tries to connect with some show of reason the dream and the event. Let me close with his own words to his son, in which we see both the humble seeker after truth and the charlatan. "Try to give the causes for everything and to employ in each case some logical and convincing explanation, for if you give bare and curt forecasts, you will seem little skilled no matter how truly you speak. But be not deceived into thinking that these logical connections control the outcome. For many dreams are continually being fulfilled for some, and we know that they are fulfilled according to law, since they are always fulfilled in a like manner; but the causes, because of which they are fulfilled, we cannot find. Wherefore we believe that we discover the fulfillments from past experience, but that we build up the reasons from ourselves alone, each according to his own ability."

<sup>4</sup> Pliny *Epis.* i. 18. 2: *Refert tamen eventura soleas an contraria somniare.*

## BEGINNING LATIN IN COLLEGE

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One of the most encouraging aspects in the educational world today is the renaissance of Latin which is taking place in the high schools. Statistics compiled with the greatest care show that in practically every section of the country Latin is coming back to its own. In increasing numbers the high-school students are taking up the study of Latin and are making the most of the opportunities that are offered them. While we all rejoice at the swing of the pendulum back to the study of the classics in the secondary schools, we must not assume that this is an indication that Latin and its sister Greek are to resume the dominating place in the curriculum that they held for so long. Few if any of the teachers of the classics would wish this to take place.

There is one phase of the subject that we should consider. This is the attitude of many of the colleges toward this subject. In many, probably most, of the colleges no effort is made to interest in this subject the students who have entered college without Latin. It is simply taken for granted that such students are so strongly interested in economics, sociology, history, or the natural sciences that they cannot be aroused to take any interest in the classics, and therefore they are neglected as a possible field from which to cultivate Latin students for the enlargement of the department.

For this reason, probably, few colleges make any provision in their curricula for teaching beginning Latin. This is not as it should be. In every college students are permitted and encouraged to begin the modern languages, especially French and German, provided they have not presented these languages for entrance. The only requirement is that the students shall pursue

these languages for the period of two years at least. If this requirement is met, full college credit is given for the work. The same thing applies to Greek also. I can see no valid reason why courses in beginning Latin should not be offered in our colleges to those students who have not offered it for entrance. On the contrary, there are many students in our colleges today who feel the need of some knowledge of Latin and who would welcome an opportunity of obtaining such knowledge if the matter were presented to them in the right way. But they will not attempt this unless full college credit be given for the work. They feel that the work is worthy of full credit. There are many students in our colleges who do not find themselves during their high-school courses. It is only after they have begun their college course that they wake up to their possibilities and discover what they wish to do. In many cases, such students would welcome an opportunity to gain some knowledge of Latin, especially if the importance of such knowledge be brought before them, but they do not feel that they can go back to high-school classes for the work. This is true of the pre-medical and the pre-legal students. Their work soon convinces them of the importance of some acquaintance with the Latin language.

The college courses in beginning and elementary Latin should be quite different in organization from the high-school courses in the same subject. There is no reason why college students should be forced to spend a year in learning the rudiments of the language. The more mature student of college rank, earnestly wishing to gain a knowledge of the subject, can learn the rudiments of the language in a semester or less. The second semester should be given up to the reading of simple Latin, well-graded selections of increasing difficulty being used for the purpose.

Perhaps I may be permitted to describe the courses I have offered in a small college in a Middle Western state. These courses were entirely apart from the regular college courses I offered to students who were majoring in Latin and who had presented four years credit in the subject for entrance. The first semester was given to beginning Latin. The class met six times

a week and without difficulty gained sufficient knowledge of Latin to enable the members to read simple elementary prose before the end of the first semester. The work of the second semester was extensive reading of prose and poetry, covering in amount the usual four books of Caesar that are read in the second year of the high school. Here I had difficulty in obtaining a suitable book. We were forced to use several books, taking selections here and there as suited our purpose.

During the second year the work was cut down to four hours a week. I tried to have the class meet five hours a week, but the schedule would not permit it. The first semester we read four orations of Cicero and a number of the letters, and four books of Vergil's *Aeneid* and some of Ovid during the second semester. Throughout the year one day a week was devoted to Latin prose writing. Topics connected with the public and private life of the Romans were assigned for investigation and were reported on by the class. Some members of the class read more than the assigned amount and were encouraged to do this work and to pass an examination on it by the reward of one hour extra credit for the semester.

The results seem large for the time given, but the classes were made up of fairly mature students, thoroughly in earnest, with no desire to shirk or to skim through, who were determined to gain a knowledge of the Latin language and of a part of its literature. Each year a few would fall by the wayside. They would find the pressure too strong for them. But the majority would come through with keen satisfaction in the fact that they had done something really worth while and had gained the goal which they were determined to reach.



## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### THE OMEN OF THE BURIED HORSE'S HEAD IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,  
Quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni  
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno  
Monstrarat, caput acris equi;<sup>1</sup> sic nam fore bello  
Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.

— *Aeneid* i. 441-445

Because of the finding of a head of a spirited steed Carthage was destined to be renowned in war and materially prosperous throughout the ages. The last line of the quotation harks back to *Aeneid* i. 14, where Carthage is described as *dives opum studiisque asperrima belli*. The horse was symbolic of war, but Servius (on *Aeneid* i. 443) does not see how the finding of a horse's head could indicate that Carthage was going to be easily sustained during the coming centuries. He says that Vergil merely touches upon the tradition, and then he proceeds to explain how Dido had heard on a certain island of Juno's an oracle with regard to the founding of Carthage. Having but little confidence in the priest, she took him with her on her journey. He chose for the site of the new city the place in which he had dug up the head of an ox. Since the ox is always under the yoke, the omen displeased Dido. Digging elsewhere the priest found the head of a horse, a portent that appealed to her because the horse, though submissive to the yoke, is warlike as well as pacific. Servius then quotes a prophecy made by Anchises on seeing a herd of horses (*Aeneid* iii. 539-543):

Bellum, o terra hospita, portas;  
Bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.  
Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti  
Quadrupedes et frena iugo concordia ferre;  
Spes et pacis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sil. Ital. *Punica* ii. 411: *Ostentant caput effossa tellure repertum Bellatoris equi.* . . .

Servius concludes that Carthage was martial because of the omen of the horse and fertile because of the omen of the ox. Explaining the *facile victu* (on i. 445) he says, *propter bovem*.

It is stated by Justinus xviii. 5. 15 that the finding of the head of an ox, though an omen of fruitfulness, was also an omen of continual subjection, and that for this reason the city was built on another site. Eustathius (on Dionysius Periegetes 195) does not have even the suggestion of a good word for the ox. According to his story, as soon as the company saw the head, they ceased digging, recalling the toil and continual slavery of the ox. Their rejection of this site *ipso facto* rendered inoperative the good part of the omen. They could not take the good without the bad, nor leave the bad without the good. As the proverb puts it, "You can't sell the cow and have her milk too."

Justinus goes on to say (16) that the finding of the horse's head indicated that the people there established would become *bellicosus potensque*, a description that recalls Vergil's *dives opum studiisque asperrima belli*.

As Vergil informs us in the passage quoted by Servius, the horse is both a symbol of war and a hope of peace, but it is not a necessary inference that it is symbolic of supremacy in the art of war and the ways of peace. I believe that it was the finding of the head that was the significant thing.

While excavations were being made for the celebrated temple of Capitoline Jupiter, there was uncovered the head of a man recently slain. A famous Etruscan seer, Olenus Calenus, *praeclarum id fortunatumque cernens*, endeavored to divert the portended good fortune to his own nation.<sup>2</sup> The details are interesting, but too long to be included here.

During the trying days of his struggle for power Titus Sextius "had a dream in which a bull that had been buried in the city of Tucca seemed to urge him to dig up its head and carry it about on a pole, intimating that by this means he should conquer" (Cassius Dio xlviii. 21. 3; E. Carey's translation).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 15; Servius on Verg. *Aeneid* viii. 345; Livy i. 55. 5; Isid. *Orig.* xv. 2. 31; Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* vi. 7; *Incerti Liber De Viris Illustr.* viii. 4; *Chronographus Anni 354*, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.* ix. 144; Dion. Hal. iv. 59-61; *Etym. Magnum* 490. In several of these references the *caput* is regarded as portending the *Capitolium*.

There are likewise beliefs in dreams about heads, the reasons for which are explained by Artemidorus in his *Oneirocritica*. "The head is, so to speak, the home of the senses" (i. 35). It is "the master of the body" (*loc. cit.*). It is clear that for an athlete to dream of having a large head signifies victory, "for then his head would be larger" (i. 17). For an athlete to dream that he has two or three heads signifies that he will be crowned victor so many times (i. 35). If a poor man has such a dream, it presages general material prosperity (i. 35).

As regards the *facile victu* of the Vergilian passage, Eustathius (on Dionysius Periegetes 195) says that the horse's head was interpreted to mean peacefulness and a means of sustenance from the work of horses as well as from other sources. It seems pertinent to note that at Phigalia Demeter, the goddess of grain, was represented with the head of a horse. In times of dearth she had to be appeased (Paus. viii. 42. 3-4).

Annually on the Ides of October in the early days of Rome a horse was slain and its head fixed on the walls of the *Regia* or on the *Atrium Mamiliam*, depending on which of two rival factions got possession of it by a struggle.<sup>3</sup> Its head was decorated with loaves *ob frugum eventum*.<sup>4</sup> W. Mannhardt concludes, after a learned investigation,<sup>5</sup> that the head represents the corn-spirit, and that the eagerness to gain control of it was due to its power to procure fertility.

I believe, therefore, that the horse and the ox are neither necessary nor entirely successful yoke-fellows in the story of the founding of Carthage. The finding of a head was the important thing. The head of a horse, especially a war horse, may well have been more significant than the head of any other animal. Vergil's choice of the horse is probably to be accounted for by the fact that the head of a horse appears on Carthaginian coins.

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<sup>3</sup> Festus 191 (Lindsay's edition).

<sup>4</sup> Festus 246 (Lindsay's edition).

<sup>5</sup> *Mythologische Forschungen*, 156-201 (Volume LI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker*). For a convenient summary see W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, 241-250.

THE ATHENIANS AND THE CONDEMNATION OF  
SOCRATES

It is reported that M. Paradopoulos, a lawyer and a patriot, has applied to the Supreme Court at Athens to hand down a decision reversing the verdict against Socrates, "since his condemnation was a miscarriage of justice and a disgrace to the name of Athens." The Court apparently feels that the case is settled and that the reputation of Socrates has passed from its jurisdiction.

The accusers of Socrates, Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon, seem to have met no great or pronounced popular displeasure in the years immediately following the trial. Anytus was chosen as an archon, and the official advice which he gave to the hard-pressed retailers of grain at last brought on the lawsuit for the prosecution of which Lysias wrote his famous speech, *Against the Grain-Dealers*. The date of this speech is not certain, but Blass from the internal evidence believed it could not be earlier than 387. Anytus then, if this date is correct, was a man of influence and of high position at least twelve years after the death of Socrates.

Lycon passed at once into oblivion, while the chance references to Meletus and Anytus in Plato give no hint that they underwent either infamy or punishment. No one of them attracted more than passing attention until long after the generation to which they belonged had ceased to write.

Diodorus of Sicily tells a different story and gives in xiv. 37 this unambiguous statement: "The Athenians repented of their unjust decision against Socrates when they realized that they had put to death so noble a man, and they became so enraged with his accusers that they put them to death without giving them a trial."

After the time of Diodorus the story spread and many details were added, so that in Plutarch, *Morals*, Goodwin's Translation, II, p. 97, we have this version: "The Athenians therefore had so utter an abhorrence of those who had accused Socrates, that they would neither lend them fire, nor answer their questions, nor bathe with them in the same water, until these accusers could support their hatred no longer and in their misery ended their own lives."

The story is different but the purpose is the same in Diog. Laert. ii. 43: "The Athenians at once repented that they had put Socrates to death, and without delay they closed the gymnasia and places of

sport, they exiled two of his accusers, and they put Meletus to death. They then erected in their most conspicuous place a bronze statue of Socrates, a statue made by Lysippus." If a statue of Socrates was made by Lysippus it must have been made one or two generations later, for that greatest of all workers in bronze belonged to the time of Alexander. This statue in bronze soon changed to gold, since Tertullian says that the Athenians set up in the temple a statue of Socrates made out of gold.

The whole tone of the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon is that of an argument intended to convince stubborn Athenians that they had made a great mistake in putting to death so noble and so pious a man, and that book furnishes certain proof that they did not regret this deed. If the story told by Diodorus had been true, then the people addressed by Xenophon needed no arguments, for they had already punished the accusers. The *Memorabilia* however gives no hint of any such revulsion of feeling.

There is little doubt that Paradopoulos has been anticipated by at least two thousand years and that, while his appeal is to the Supreme Court at Athens to acquit Socrates, his predecessors appealed to the public opinion of mankind to acquit the Athenians.

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## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible.]

### Presentations of Classical Plays

*University of California at Los Angeles.*—Sophocles' *Ajax*, in Jebb's translation, May 19, 20, and 21.

*Elmira College, New York.*—Plautus' *Menaechmi*, in translation, April 9. The play was presented by the Classical Club of the college. Both the translation and the scenery and costumes were prepared by the students themselves.

*Kirksville State Teachers College, Missouri.*—Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in translation, February 24. The play was presented by the Department of Speech.

### The Classical Club of Greater Boston

The club, following its usual custom, is devoting five meetings to Latin readings, three to Greek. Since the opening meeting, at which Professor A. H. Rice, of Boston University, read from the "Trimalchio's Feast" of Petronius, three evenings have been spent on the poetry of Lucretius and his exposition of the atomic theory. Two meetings have been given to Greek: at the first, Professor J. H. Ropes, of Harvard University, discussed the style of various parts of the New Testament, and read passages from the Gospels and from Paul's letters; at the March meeting, Dr. Fred B. Lund read parts of Plato's *Timaeus* relating to the structure of the human body, the nature and functions of its various parts, and the relation of the several elements of the soul to the three main cavities of the body.

**Conferences of Indiana Latin Teachers**

The teachers of the second district met at the high school, Martinsville, March 26. The program was as follows:

Greeting by Superintendent M. S. Mahan, Martinsville; "Difficulties in Interpreting the Latin Sentence," Mabel Sutton, Mooresville; "The Oral Element in Acquiring a Latin Vocabulary," Edith Burton, Sandborn; "Devices and Methods for Teaching Mythology," Lula Clark, Morgantown; "The Meaning and Value of Mythology," R. H. Coon, Indiana University.

The afternoon was devoted to round table discussions, at which the following material was used: Lessons on Background for Caesar i.1-29, prepared by Alberta Peterson, Bloomfield; Lesson on Background for Caesar iii, prepared by Mae McCoy, Freelandville; Paragraphs on Pictures in Caesar Textbook, sponsored by Mary L. Brown, Spencer; Paragraphs on Pictures in First-Year Book, prepared by Sister St. Frances, St. Rose Academy, Vincennes; A Model Caesar Exhibit, sponsored by Edna Calvert, Sullivan; Roman House and Furniture, an exhibit sponsored by Gertrude Johnson, Jasonville

The teachers of the eighth district met at Ball Teachers College, Muncie, March 26. The program was as follows:

Address of Welcome, by President B. J. Burris; "Semper Idem," Lillian Gay Berry, Indiana University; "The Status of Latin in the Schools of Indiana," E. B. Butler, State High School Inspector; "Second-Year Latin," Evelyn Hieatt, Saratoga; "The Latin Contest," Emma Cammack, Muncie; Style Show of Roman Costumes, by the class in *Private Life of the Romans* of Ball Teachers College, under the direction of Lydia L. Grabbe.

**The Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri**

The association held its twenty-first annual meeting at Washburn College, Topeka, April 22 and 23. On Friday evening President Charles C. Mierow, of Colorado College, gave an illustrated lecture on "Ancient Egypt and the Recent Discoveries." The program for Saturday was as follows:

Address of Welcome, by President P. P. Womer, Washburn College; Response, by Mary A. Grant, University of Kansas; "Horace, the Salesman," May Elizabeth Keirns, Tarkio College; "Evidences of the Use of Original Documents by Livy," Mary Alice Seller, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; "Roman Private Life for the High School," Ethel D. Wynne, Central High School, Kansas City, Missouri; "The Ending of Aeschylus' *Septem*," Allen J. Moon, William Jewell College; "The Most Modern Voice from Antiquity," President Charles C. Mierow, Colorado College; "Science and the Classics," P. V. Roberts, Baker University; Living Pictures from the Classics, Topeka High-School Students; "Problems of First- and Second-Year Latin," W. Falkenrich, Hutchinson High School; "Tibullus," Mrs. Jessie Wright

Whitcomb, Topeka; "A Summer at the American Academy in Rome," Laura Martha Leland, Newton High School; "An Interpretation of the Classical Dance," Lillian B. Lawler, University of Kansas; Report of the Ann Arbor Meeting, A. T. Walker, University of Kansas.

#### **Classical League of the Lehigh Valley**

The annual spring meeting of the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley was held at Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on April 2. Professor G. E. McCracken, of Lafayette College, reviewed several books of especial value for teachers; Professor Edgar Riley, of the English department of Lehigh University, read a paper on "Vergil's Influence on Paradise Lost"; and Dr. A. S. Cooley spoke of the need in Greece of a college of the American type, with part of the work in English, part in Greek. The officers are: President, Dr. Henry V. Shelley, Lafayette College; Secretary, Miss Mary L. Hess, Liberty High School, Bethlehem.

#### **Mississippi Valley Classical Association**

The association held its sixth annual meeting on March 18 and 19, at Carthage, Illinois, in the Recreation Hall of the college. At the Friday evening session Dr. Sereno Burton Clark, Professor of Classics, Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, who had just returned from a summer in Rome, gave an address on "A Modern Caesar," a striking comparison of Mussolini and Julius Caesar. An informal reception followed. On Saturday the following program was given:

"America" by the assembly; Greetings by N. J. Gould Wickey, President of Carthage College; Response by Harriet A. Warren, President of the Association; Latin Songs by the "Classical Male Quartette"; "Rome and the Academy," S. B. Clark; "Latin Clubs," Marie Cronk, the Galva School; "Adeste Fideles," sung by the assembly; a Latin playlet by students of the Keokuk High School; "What Shall We Read in Second-Year Latin?" a discussion led by Bloom MacGregor, of the Keokuk High School.

#### **New Jersey Classical Association**

The annual meeting of the New Jersey Classical Association was held on Saturday, May 7, at Rutgers College, New Brunswick. The program was as follows:

"Fourth-Year Latin: Ideals Tempered by Necessities," A. A. Hamblen, Lawrenceville School; "Beyond the Syllabus," Leo Dressler, Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.; "The Acquisition of a Vocabulary," H. F. Standerwick, Blair Academy; "Some Musical Settings to Horace" (illus-

trated), Walton Brooks McDaniel, 2d, New York University. After the business meeting and luncheon Professor M. Rostovtzeff, of Yale University, gave an illustrated address on "Mystic Pompeii."

#### **Classical Association of Pittsburgh and Vicinity**

The association met on April 23. Professor Charles M. Lee, of Geneva College, spoke on "Some Roman Coins," and Miss Adalaide R. Jones, of the University of Pittsburgh, on "An Ancient Erskine," dealing with some aspects of Ovid's Life and Poetry. The next meeting will be held at Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

#### **A Greek Exposition**

The Second Greek Exposition, held on Thursday, March 24, in the Library Auditorium of Boston College, took the form of a concertation on the subject of Lysias and his Orations, conducted by the Greek students of the junior and sophomore classes. After an explanation of the purpose and benefits of the exposition by the director, Mr. Jos. M.-G. Marique, the first inquisitor, Mr. Thomas Sullivan, questioned the expositor, Mr. Bernard McCabe, on the life and character of Lysias, and the legal procedure and technicalities of the Athenian courts. The second inquisitor chose the "Speech of Aristophanes" as his field of attack. After a searching cross-questioning by two more inquisitors the expositor was plied with questions by the audience and by the director himself, and closed the exposition with a summary covering the whole subject. The exercise was a splendid example of scholarly work, carefully planned by the instructor and well carried out by the undergraduates.

## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. It is the aim of this department to furnish teachers of high-school Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send to the editor of the department short paragraphs dealing with matters of content, teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. Questions regarding teaching problems are also invited. Replies to these will be published in this department if they seem to be of general interest; otherwise they will, so far as possible, be answered by mail. It will, in general, be the policy of this department to publish all such contributions as seem of value and general interest.]

### Vergil: His Two-Thousandth Anniversary

This information is provided through the kindness of Professor B. L. Ullman, University of Chicago, formerly editor of "Hints for Teachers" and last year Annual Professor at The American School at Rome. See also *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXI (May, 1926), 613.

In preparation for the two-thousandth anniversary of Vergil's birth in 1930, the Italian government, as well as various local groups, has been making and executing plans of considerable interest to Latin students. As the poet of Roman nationalism in the Augustan age Vergil is receiving an unusual amount of attention in the present neo-Augustan age of Italy.

Among the archaeological projects discussed in the Italian newspapers last year (and no doubt the current papers carry further details) the most important and authoritative was that announced in the Italian Senate by the Minister of Public Instruction. The plan was to systematize the monuments and places mentioned in the *Aeneid*, so that they might recall the legends of the race. He stated that Cumae, with its temple of Apollo and the cave of the Sibyl, and Lake Avernus, with its mirrored monuments, are elements that cannot be disengaged from the poetry of Vergil, which lives forever in the unchanging beauty of these places. Chief attention is being given to the newly discovered grotto of the Sibyl at Cumae, the entrance to which has already been cleared. The Minister added that when the entire grotto is excavated this will without doubt be the greatest monument which the government will raise to the first singer of the origins of the Italian race. When I visited the ruins of Cumae in March, 1927, excavation was proceeding steadily. Needless to say, the so-called grotto of the Sibyl which tourists have investigated in the past, carried through dark waters on the back of a sturdy guide, is not authentic.

Other projects call for additional work at Cumae and Baiae, and at the so-called tomb of Vergil at Naples. The net result will be to give the region



to the north of Naples a thoroughly Vergilian flavor and make it a sort of shrine for the worshipers of the gentle Mantuan.

This reminds me that the Mantuans are not asleep, for they were to begin the erection of a monument to their most famous citizen. It may not be out of place to mention here that Professor R. S. Conway has recently published an article (in *Atene e Roma* N. S. VII, 1926, 170 ff.) in which he makes probable that the location of Vergil's actual birthplace (Andes) was at Calvisano rather than at Pietole, as has generally been thought. The former is to the northwest of Mantua, the latter to the southeast. Pictures of the countryside add interest to his article.

After this was in type word came that the unveiling of the monument at Mantua took place on April 21, the birthday of the city of Rome, three years ahead of the official Vergil year.

### **Making the Teaching of Latin Vital**

The standards set up in this list were written by Mrs. Esther Paulus, Roosevelt High School, St. Paul, Minnesota, at the end of a teachers' course in answer to the question, "What means do you intend to use to vitalize the teaching of Latin?" Successful results would seem almost assured for the teacher who lives up to these standards.

1. My own genuine interest in both pupils and subject.
2. Continued study and reading on my part.
3. Attendance at teachers' meetings and the utilizing of opportunities to talk with other teachers about the work.
4. Visits to art exhibits and an effort to become acquainted with the best in painting, sculpture, and architecture.
5. Perhaps, as they become useful, trips with classes to such exhibits.
6. The use of pictures, bulletin boards, scrapbooks, and other visual devices as I find them applicable.
7. The use of varied drills on the routine part of the work.
8. A careful correlation of Latin and English vocabulary.
9. Calling attention to literary parallels in English or in any other language when available to myself and pupils.
10. Keeping as up-to-date as possible by subscribing to classical magazines and trying out such plans as seem to be applicable to my problems.
11. Using The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers.
12. Care in holding before the pupils the aims of our work, in working out those aims in class from the beginning of the course, and in a resumé at the end of what has been accomplished or not accomplished; because I believe that every pupil should know what road he is traveling and what his goal should be.
13. A careful effort to diagnose and deal with individual differences, looking to less discouragement among the slower pupils and less brain inertia among the more keen-minded.

14. A resolve to be physically and mentally alert at every class so far as humanly possible, because enthusiasm is contagious and young people are very susceptible to it.
15. The use of such devices as Latin clubs, parties, special programs, features on parent-teacher occasions, etc., which serve to arouse enthusiasm or at least interest in the home as well as in class.

#### Mediaeval Latin Plays for Latin Clubs

As a variation from modern productions the suggestions given here are of much interest. They come from Miss Eva Matthews Sanford, College for Women, Western Reserve University.

A few years ago I was called upon to find some form of Latin entertainment for a second-semester Latin class in a girls' school, which would interest the general audience at a school "Christmas party." None of the modern plays then available seemed quite suited to my needs, so I began to browse in the Yale library for suggestions. Very soon I found "*Herodes, sive Magorum Adoratio*" in Thomas Wright's *Early Mysteries*, and it proved to be just what I needed. (A briefer form of this play may be found in Beeson, *Primer of Medieval Latin*, pp. 202-204, under the title "*Officium Stellae*." The version which Wright gave is found also in other collections of the Mystery plays.) It can be given successfully without stage setting and with very few properties; and our total expense for costumes was only fifty cents, since we copied old paintings very successfully with portieres and table covers! The play may be adapted to any number of actors from twelve to about thirty, according to the number of pages used, and to whether the shepherd scenes as well as those with the Magi are used. The audience can, of course, follow perfectly regardless of a knowledge of Latin, and the children not only enjoy finding the familiar story in Latin but learn more than enough about mediaeval Latin to compensate for any possible danger to the purity of their syntax.

The experiment was so successful that I followed it up the next year with another play from Wright's collection, the "*Ludus super Iconia Sancti Nicolai*," which my Cicero class gave on a similar occasion. Briefly, a heathen going on a far journey entrusts his goods to St. Nicholas; robbers steal them, and the heathen on his return beats the Saint's image soundly. The image then comes to life, threatens the robbers with instant crucifixion unless the goods are at once returned; the heathen repents when he finds his *pretiosum aurum cum vestibus* safe after all, and is converted at once. Here the Saint and the heathen are the only speaking parts. The play is in catchy and delightful rhythm and is well received by the audience.

These are only two out of many possible examples. In spite of the obvious advantages of the useful "made Latin" plays of which we have so much better supply than a few years ago, I think there is a decided place for some of the mediaeval plays also. And as plays written centuries ago for presentation, and yet centuries after the days when Cicero and Caesar went to the theater, they form a useful link between the past and present, a reminder that men did speak Latin after the death of Augustus.

**Latin Exhibits**

The exhibit here described has attracted unusual interest. The teachers are Mrs. L. W. Hugg, Mrs. A. L. Brumby, and Miss C. Pearl Penn. Most teachers of high-school Latin find it desirable at times to have their pupils prepare material of an illustrative nature; but for the less experienced teacher it may be added that comparatively few find it feasible to develop a display so extensive as this one. The emphasis in preparing the exhibit was upon the relation of Latin to modern life.

A Latin exhibit prepared by students of the Latin department of Sam Houston High School, Houston, Texas, after being displayed for a few days at the school, was moved by invitation to the local Museum of Fine Arts, where it was exhibited for a month and where hundreds of people viewed it. Requests for the loan of the exhibit then came from Main Avenue High School, San Antonio, South Texas Teachers College, Kingsville, Austin High School, and the University of Texas. After this itinerary, the exhibit returned to its home city to be displayed again at a public library in one of the suburbs.

The exhibit consisted of a large number of posters showing the relation of Latin to modern life; likenesses of famous Romans, mythological characters, etc., and models of temples, altars, lamps, etc., all done in soap; replicas of engines of war, armor, chariots, bridges, standards, etc., fashioned from wood, paper, or cloth.

Each pupil of the Latin department was urged to make some contribution to the display. Quite aside from the value of this work to the pupils themselves is the fact that it is sufficiently definite and concrete to be appreciated by the general public, as the following extract from *The Houston Chronicle* will show:

"The museum's showcase has an exhibit well worth a visit to see. An old Roman ship made of soap, finely carved and with a high poop and a proud figurehead on the prow is there beside Romulus and Remus getting their nourishment according to legend. Diana with a saucy turn to her head is portrayed in soap also. White soap has been the preferred medium. There is a Roman altar, a wax tablet with accompanying stylus, replicas of huge Roman keys made from tin, and Roman rings made from soap.

"On the top shelf of the case are various styles of vehicles, all made of wood except one chariot with its body a delicate little shell. The miniature driver is clothed according to approved style of a gladiator. The case is well arranged and contains also a Latin essay on a scroll in the old Latin style. It was written last year in the essay contest in the Latin department and awarded second prize.

"One of the most ingenious pieces of work in the whole exhibit is a replica of one of Caesar's bridges. It is made without a single nail and held together by a scheme of bracing used by the famous general, so that the more weight

there is on it, the more stable is the bridge. The small brother of the student who made it stood on the bridge with the full force of his eighty pounds, but the bridge remained firm.

"Around the walls are interesting posters showing the Latin used in advertising, in modern words, in the stars, and a most unusual chart of the human body meticulously drawn and showing the names of the various bones of the body derived from Latin. Most unusual is the fact that the author of this poster is a girl."

### The Direct Approach to Latin

The following "experiment in the direct approach to Latin," comes from Mr. Harry E. Wedeck, Seward Park High School, New York City, apparently one of the comparatively few teachers who have found this a successful method of teaching Latin. It is evident that there are methods of teaching Latin which are quite unsatisfactory in the hands of many teachers but eminently successful when employed by some. To one who has found it successful the value of a method is not lessened by questions of its adaptability to the use of the many. For those who are using the direct method Mr. Wedeck's account will be of interest.

In his *Intellectual Life* P. G. Hamerton proposes the ideal method of studying a foreign language. Some island, off the coast of Italy, should be utilized as a colonization centre for a small group of young people. They will be cut off from all contact with the mainland, and their constant and sole medium of intercourse will be the Latin language. In a generation or two we shall have once more a Latin tongue spoken by a Latin race that has known no other language. The execution of such a plan might not be entirely feasible, but the wise Montaigne had a wise old father who knew not Hamerton and yet realized that any tongue can be made the mother tongue, and therefore made his son a Roman by speech and a Frenchman by study. On a very modest scale we attempted such an experiment, with a view to making the oral tongue the basis for acquiring at least the rudiments of Latin. It is well known how successful the plan has been in the Perse School under Dr. Rouse, and, allowing for different conditions, we wished to investigate whether we could not introduce at least a modified form of the method.

The experiment was carried out in a beginners' class, some of whom were acquiring a language sense because they were studying two foreign languages. We began by plunging in *medias res*, that is, by making simple sentences that could be readily understood with the help of a gesture, as for example: *Haec est fenestra. Nomen in tabula scribo. Quid facit ille puer?* The first impression that the pupil was to receive was that Latin was a language, a living spoken language, a vivid means of communication, not a mass of formulae. Once the pupils realized this, they entered with zest into the experiment and co-operated with enthusiasm. No text was used. In the beginning, little

writing was done. Each day the vocabulary was added to, until the pupil had in his possession a sufficiency of material to make simple sentences in Latin. This was done without knowing whether he was using the dative or the genitive, without even knowing any of the grammatical terminology. When, in answer to the question, *Quid in manu habes?* a pupil replied, *Librum in manu habeo* (and he did this merely by imitation), he felt he was saying something that had a meaning to him, just as consciously as when he said in French, *J'ai un livre à la main*.

As a further aid in this conversational approach, I have written some selections in colloquial Latin to show how modern in thought and expression Latin can be. Some of the pieces have actually been performed by pupils, and it was as much a surprise to them as it would be to an Ollendorffian pupil to note that Latin could mean more than, "The farmer sees the black horse," and "The slaves love their masters," as the elementary primers would have us believe.



## Book Reviews

*The Development of Virgil's Art.* By HENRY W. PRESCOTT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. xi + 490. \$4.00.

It is a curious fact that, during all the years in which Vergil's *Aeneid* has been studied in the high schools, no one before Professor Prescott has written a book on Vergil designed chiefly to aid the teachers and students in such schools to understand the *Aeneid* as a whole, both in its relation to the literature which preceded it and to its own environment, and to appreciate it as a literary masterpiece. And so well has the author accomplished his aims that no teacher of Vergil can afford not to read his book.

The greater part of the book is due, as Professor Prescott states in his preface, to the studies of such scholars as Heinze and Norden; and the former's important work, *Virgils Epische Technik*, is, in its most essential features, made accessible to English readers who cannot make use of the original.

To those, indeed, who have read the contributions of these German scholars to Vergilian criticism Professor Prescott offers so little that is new that they are likely to be, as the reviewer has to confess he was, disappointed. For, important as these contributions are, they have left many questions unanswered or have raised new ones or, it may be, have answered others incorrectly, and I found myself often longing to hear Professor Prescott speak in his own person with the voice of authority of his own fine scholarship. He has been too modest, and this modesty has, I feel, in some cases resulted in slight contradictions and in a failure to emphasize a striking feature of Vergil's art. Thus, the appearance of Venus to Aeneas in the first book Prescott, following the lead of Heinze, is inclined to justify by the practice of Homer (p. 261) and he can say (p. 325) that she appears "without any special reason save only to tell Aeneas Dido's early history," that "the poet did not feel obliged to establish any other cause for her appearance." And yet the real reason why Venus and not some human Tyrian maid was chosen to instruct Aeneas is

hinted at on p. 262, the "maternal interest" of the goddess in her son. When we recall that the sufferings of Aeneas had prompted his mother to her interview with Jupiter (i. 227 ff.) and that her own grief had been assuaged by his prophecy of the future, we realize that the best of all motives has been provided for the appearance of the goddess mother before her son — a mother's love and her eagerness to reassure him in the hour of his direst need. By this means, also, the poet gains an opportunity for the splendid tragic irony: the mother's message, prompted by her joy, contributes to the moral undoing of her son.

Nor am I quite satisfied with Professor Prescott's acceptance of Heinze's conclusion that the Fate in Vergil is identical with the will of Jove, that "it is not explained," and that "we are not supposed to ask why it so decrees" (p. 250). To me the Fate of Vergil is, like the god of Heraclitus, the *Logos* of the Stoics, "that which hath ordered all things for the harmony of the whole." We do not understand it any more than Aeneas, Dido, Evander, Turnus understand it, but we, as they, do ask why it so decrees, and Vergil does explain it for us and for Aeneas by identifying it with Rome's predestined work in the world and by unfolding it for us in Jupiter's reply to Venus in Book i, in the vision of heroes in Book vi, in the pictures on Aeneas' shield in Book viii, and finally in Book xii, in the conversation between Juno and Jupiter (vss. 791 ff.). Professor Prescott sees in this passage a violation of one of Vergil's principles of composition, in that he has allowed "a long episode, the assembly of the gods, to interrupt the main action just before the issue" (p. 202). What Vergil has accomplished, however, by this means is the solution of the drama of the gods before that of the mortal actors, thereby justifying this issue — a triumph, it has been called, of dramatic structure.

Professor Prescott, who sees essential differences between the Aeneas of the first six books and the Aeneas of the last six, is inclined to doubt the theory which explains these differences on the ground of "an artistic development of character within the action of the poem" (p. 234), and feels rather that "the patient Aeneas of the first six books is a lineal descendant of the dejected wanderer whom Homer has not infrequently depicted in his Odysseus, and whom Apollonius, with considerable injury to our modern requirements, has elaborated in the case of Jason" (p. 235). When, however, he sum-

marizes Heinze's analysis of the character of Aeneas as "the ideal Stoic," he reaches practically the same conclusion: "The hero of the first six books is schooled by adversity; his virtue there lies in patient genuine toil, in submission to misfortune; thence he rises, stimulated especially by the vision of Rome's future heroes in the sixth book, to a career of positive achievement, to the valorous exploits of war in Latium" (p. 479). I cannot but feel, however, that he goes too far in his insistence upon the patient submissiveness of Aeneas and in saying that "on occasion he almost snivels." The importance of such lines as i. 93 ff. and i. 198 ff. is not stressed by the author in his discussion of these passages (pp. 256 ff.), and yet they show us clearly a man who has been given a mission not of his own choosing; a man who can bear his burden bravely with a smile upon his lips to cheer those weaker than himself, but with a deep woe in his heart, a woe which finds bitter expression in his words to Venus in i. 372 ff. and again in his tears as he stands gazing at the picture of the sorrows of his people, i. 456 ff. In the second book there is forgetfulness of duty, a revolt, as Prescott notes (p. 479) against the hardness of his lot, just as in the fourth book there is forgetfulness and a deception of self in the happiness of Dido's love. But when the moral awakening comes, there comes with it an immediate acceptance of his duty even though the decision means added sorrow. Then, when in obedience to his father's words (v. 724 ff.) to seek him out in Elysium and thus to learn the outcome of his mission, something that will justify his sufferings, it is not for any "assurance as to his future" (p. 368) that he asks, but only for assurance as to the fulfillment of that mission: *Da (non indebita posco/regna meis fatis) Latio considerare Teucros/errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae* (vi. 66-8). The Sibyl's reply, however, does deal solely with his personal fortune, and at the first opportunity Aeneas waves such prophecy aside: *Non ulla laborum/o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit* (vi. 102-3); and in a passionate outburst, the one place in the poem, someone has said, where Aeneas' feelings get beyond his control, he begs her to lead him to his father. It is not *pietas* alone, however, which prompts his request — the natural longing of a son to see again the father he has loved and lost — but the remembrance also of the promise of that father (v. 737 ff.), that he will tell him of his race to come and of the city promised him. This vision of the future Anchises vouchsafes his son at once (vi. 756 ff.), and in the

glory of it, in the knowledge of Rome's beneficent work in the world, the crowning of peace with law (vi. 852), Aeneas finds an explanation of his own sufferings and of the ways of God to man. After this there could be, of course, no wavering, no revolt, no bitterness; personal pain and woe might lie ahead, but the purpose of it all was now made clear; cf. the fine words of Professor Prescott, pp. 360-1. The character of Aeneas is, therefore, it seems to me, consistent from first to last, and in it we have Vergil's answer to the great problem of individual suffering and to the riddle of the individual life, an answer summed up for us, as Prescott notes (p. 478) in the glorious words of the hero to his son, "learn, my lad, manhood from me and honest effort, good fortune from others" (xii. 435).

There are certain other points on which I find myself unable to agree with the views of Professor Prescott, among them, for example, his acceptance of Norden's interpretation of vi. 743 as "the penalty for the long defilement according to the demon which has fallen to the lot of each" (p. 403), and of the same scholar's idea that "the majority of souls must be purified in a recess of Elysium" (p. 404). Such differences of opinion, however, merely illustrate the fact that it is hard for a lover of Vergil to write a book that will completely satisfy every other lover of Vergil, and must not be construed as detracting from the splendid service which Professor Prescott, by his clear exposition, his scholarship, his sound judgment, his restraint, has done for readers of the poet.

In the very beginning of the book one learns how cautious the author is, and his outline of "Virgil's Literary Heritage" (pp. 1-17), and of "The Atmosphere of Virgil's Youth and Early Manhood" (pp. 18-75) is a delight to read, entirely free as it is of the conjectures, often rash and romantic, by which much of the recent studies of Vergil's life is marked. Especially comforting to the reviewer is it to have Professor Prescott remark (Pref., p. viii) that he cannot accept all the poems of the *Virgilian Appendix* as from the hand of Vergil and to find him content with this conclusion: "In the main the *Virgilian Appendix* reveals a poet, or group of poets, sedulously engaged in making over Hellenistic themes, Hellenistic literary types, and even some Greek vocabulary for assimilation by an audience that apparently is dulled, in its appreciation of poetry, to any keen sense of national consciousness by the civil conflict that rages continuously in the outer world" (p. 74).

After this discussion of Vergil's early life and environment there follow chapters on the *Eclogues* (pp. 76-117), with a clear and interesting discussion of Vergil's relation to Theocritus and of his own contribution to pastoral poetry, and on the *Georgics* (pp. 118-137), where, by means of quotations of longer passages than elsewhere some idea is given of the beauty and the vigor of the original. Here Professor Prescott is greatly handicapped by the limitations he has set himself not to discuss "poetic diction, imagery, and versification" (Pref., p. viii), for these are the very features which give the *Georgics* their wondrous beauty.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the *Aeneid*, prefaced by a fine chapter (pp. 138-153) on "The Social and Political Background." Here is emphasized the conviction not of Octavian only but of Vergil and Horace as well that "the salvation of Rome lay in a moral and religious revival" (p. 141), and the significance of the poem is rightly seen to lie in Vergil's determination to exercise the "high function of the poet, service to the state" (p. 151), in support of a great leader in his efforts to face a great crisis and to meet a national need. The final paragraph of this chapter is such a fine expression of the meaning of the *Aeneid* and of its place in literature that it deserves quotation in full:

But the spirit and form of Virgil's poem are largely the expression of his own individuality and environment. To material composed of a dry legend and of rich additions from the stories of earlier literature he gave the animating soul of patriotic purpose and moral endeavor. And this traditional substance was molded into a perfection of form that no Greek or Roman predecessor had achieved. The technique of his verse, to be sure, is the issue of a long development to which his own contribution was considerable. His diction and phrasing, too, are often affected by the gravity and rude grandeur of the early epic of Ennius, and by constant echoing of other earlier poets, notably Lucretius. But in all the larger elements of structure and composition, whether in respect to the poem as a whole, or the books as separate units, or smaller chapters of action, Vergil's epic stands out as the first consistent effort to unify and dramatize a long epic narrative into an effective whole. For the first time in the history of ancient epic a high degree of somewhat conscious art went to the making of epic narrative (p. 152).

The next chapter, "The Legend of Aeneas," begins with a short outline of the *Aeneid* (pp. 154-5) and is followed by an account of the development of the Aeneas legend before Vergil, with brief illustrations of the manner in which Vergil has made use of the abundant material both in prose and verse ready at his hand. Since a proper



understanding of Vergil's power in "giving substantial body to the dry skeleton of the legend of Aeneas" (p. 168) cannot be had without a knowledge of earlier epic tradition, Vergil's relation to this tradition is discussed by an analysis of such elements as in the author's judgment are due to Homer's *Odyssey* (pp. 170-189), "the only extensive one being the visit to the other world in the sixth book," which, therefore, is most fully treated (pp. 178-186), and to the *Iliad* (pp. 189-226). In connection with this he notes, following the careful analysis of Heinze, how Vergil, when he depends upon Homer for the general situation, as in the battle scenes in the seventh, ninth, and tenth books and in the description of the games in the fifth book, differs from Homer in his emphasis upon "dramatic movement and on the motivation of action from within" (p. 200). A wise sentence sums up these extended comparisons, "It is not a matter of better or worse, but only of difference" (p. 225).

There follows (pp. 226-245) an analysis of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, dealing chiefly with his characterization of Medea, which suggests that, although the Hellenistic epic had not anticipated "the Roman poet in the careful structure of dramatic action, the poem on the Argonauts does certainly limit the extent of Virgil's originality in his constant appeal to, and portrayal of, the emotions" (p. 245).

The succeeding chapters present detailed analyses of all the books of the *Aeneid*. "The Story of Dido" (pp. 246-300) gives what seems to me, possibly because my own views agree, with such exceptions as I have noted above, with those of Professor Prescott, a very sane and sympathetic treatment of this supreme tragedy. And I am especially glad that Professor Prescott can write, in regard to Aeneas' stay in Carthage, "the poet lets the great fact speak for itself; Aeneas has forgotten his sacred mission; he is building Carthage, not Lavinium. This is proof enough of his devotion to the queen" (p. 283). His translation, however, of i. 630, *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*, "O, I am wise in sorrow, and I help all suffering souls" (p. 269), fails to bring out the great moral lesson which the line embodies, that it is through suffering that one learns sympathy.

It happens that, as I read Professor Prescott's account of the storm scene in the first book (pp. 254 ff.), I am riding through a wild storm on the Mediterranean, and I am convinced that, however tradi-

tional such a description may be, Vergil was not drawing entirely from the written page. In very truth the winds have made a sally and from their hidden homes *una Eurusque Notusque* (so it seems) *ruunt creberque procellis/Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*. Alas, however, there is no Neptune here to raise his calm countenance above the warring waves, to calm the raging waters, to put to flight the gathered clouds, and to bring back the sun (i. 142 ff.).

The content of the second book is dealt with in "The Fall of Troy" (pp. 301-338), of the third book in "The Wanderings of Aeneas" (pp. 339-358). In the latter chapter an interesting comparison is made between Vergil's story and the historical narrative of the wanderings given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The sixth book is discussed at much greater length in "The Descent to the Lower World" (pp. 359-427), in connection with which I have noted above certain details concerning which my views differ from those of Norden and Prescott. Nor am I at all sure that "the sixth book owes its framework to the *Odyssey*," as the author states on pages 363 and 369. Indeed, he seems to be not entirely sure of it himself, for he says on page 374, and here all will agree, "Virgil may have been inspired by the *Odyssey* to include a visit to the other world in his poem, but it is clear that his conception of that world and the situation into which he puts Aeneas are entirely different from the setting of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*." In the treatment of the meeting between Aeneas and Dido, which is modeled, he thinks, upon the dialogue between Odysseus and Ajax in the *Odyssey*, I miss a reference to what is most vital in the episode, the splendid contrast to the situation in the fourth book and the resulting assurance that Aeneas' love for Dido was very real, the tragedy of it as great for him as for her — indeed greater, for she has at last found peace while he has not and knows not whether he ever will. As a pendant to the analysis of the sixth book there follows a chapter (pp. 411-427) in which are discussed various notions of the nature of the soul and of the after-life as these had been developed by popular fancy and speculative theory, showing how "in Virgil's conception of the after-life the result is many intertwined strands, the other ends of which run far back into the earlier stages of Greek thought" (p. 427).

As in these first six books Professor Prescott sees an *Odyssey* so in the last six, with greater truth, he sees an *Iliad* (p. 428), and for this reason much of the matter in them was discussed earlier in his

book (pp. 189-206). In his chapter, therefore, on the war in Latium (pp. 428-462), he is more concerned with giving his readers a more detailed analysis of each book and showing how Vergil has condensed and expanded the material furnished him by earlier writers and how he has introduced into it "concentration, dramatic structure, compactness, and clearness" (p. 462). Since this employment of the machinery of the drama, in which Professor Prescott rightly sees "Vergil's great contribution to the development of epic poetry" (p. 462), would lead to nothing but "mere mechanical perfection" without "the interplay of strong human characters," he concludes his book with a short chapter (pp. 463-481), using therefor the pages of Heinze (cf. Pref., p. ix), on the characters which appear in the last six books. The chapter is introduced by an interesting sketch of the difference in regard to treatment of character between ancient and modern practice and theory. Vergil's tendency to emphasize general traits and at the same time to leave room "for a certain amount of clear individualism" (p. 466) is illustrated by his treatment of young men, Ascanius, Pallas, Nisus, Euryalus, Lausus; of old men, Ilioneus, Nautes, Evander, Anchises; of women, with the exception of Dido, whose character was discussed earlier in the book. The chapter ends with a comparison of the characterizations of the three warriors, Mezentius, Turnus, Aeneas, who are "sharply individualized" and "sharply contrasted" (p. 473).

The book is provided with an index (pp. 485-490) and is beautifully printed. There are very few errors, the most serious one that I noted occurring on p. 396, which, for some reason, must have escaped the author's keen revision. The style is simple and fluent and the book is a credit both to author and to publisher. Every teacher of Vergil should read it and reread it, for he will find therein much information and delight.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

MARBURY B. OGLE

*Troy and Paeonia.* With Glimpses of Ancient Balkan History and Religion. By GRACE HARRIET MACURDY, Professor of Greek in Vassar College. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925. Pp. xi+259. \$3.75.

In this brilliant and stimulating work Miss Macurdy has succeeded in a task of unusual difficulty: she has presented in fifteen chapters an admirable account of the history and civilization of the Danubian

tribes who built and rebuilt Troy and left traces of their activity in the traditions attested by the Homeric poems. These traces are more in number and more definite in detail than one might suppose; they are to be found in personal and tribal names, place-names, the introduction and use of the horse, methods of fighting, religious beliefs and practices, and even wars and invasions dimly remembered and saved from oblivion by myth-encrusted tradition. Dardanians and Paeonians emerge into clearer light than before and with a new reality, but more important still is the richer background thus afforded to the tale of Troy.

The evidence for connecting the Trojans, Dardanians, and their Lycian, Maeonian, and Mysian allies with Moesia, Dardania, and Paeonia in Europe is presented in the following chapters: I. The God-built Walls and the Builder Gods (3-16); II. Tribes of the Trojan Battle-cry: the Lykians and Sarpedon (17-37); III. Tribes of the Trojan Battle-cry: the Close-fighting Dardanians (38-56); IV. Tribes of the Trojan Battle-cry: the Horse-taming Trojans (57-68); V. Trojan Names in the *Iliad* (69-82); VI. Paeonia (83-97); VII. Paeonian Sun-worship and Medicine (98-110); VIII. Helios-Hades, Paeon-Apollo, and Poseidon (111-129); IX. Artemis the Queen (130-150); X. Leto (151-156); XI. Spinners of Pieria (157-168); XII. The Averting of Evil: the Cock, the Sun, and Amber (169-180); XIII. The Averting of Evil: Royal Names (181-195); XIV. The Hyperboreans (196-210); XV. The Northern Muses and Spirits of the Water (211-224). A good Index (225-259) completes the volume.

To discuss step by step the nature of the evidence would lead one into a very wide field; it is perhaps enough to say that throughout it has been selected with care and used with skill. With the general conclusions, it seems to the reviewer, there can be no serious disagreement. In so good a book it is, however, a matter of regret that the reader should find so many examples of erratic citation and so many irritating instances of carelessness which cannot all be ascribed to the printer. Professor Bassett has dealt with some of them severely but not unjustly in his review in the *Classical Weekly*, XIX, 202 ff., and his list could easily be extended. Although Nilsson's *Griechische Feste* is referred to frequently, the author's name is consistently misspelled, and Dussaud fares no better. And notwithstanding the author's thanks for "the remarkably full and conscientious work so

carefully executed" by the compiler of the Index, the only two pages tested (237, 258) showed *Anchimachos* for Anchemachos; *hypercoristica* for hypocoristica; and *moosweibsch* for moosweibchen (cf. 258). I am willing to believe that I have chanced upon the only errors. It would, however, be grossly unfair to allow one's annoyance over such details to influence one's judgment on the merits of the book. These are many and great: originality, abundant learning, sound reasoning, and clarity of statement.

J. G. WINTER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

*Cicero, Select Letters*: with Historical Introductions, Notes and Appendices. By W. W. How, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Merton College. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Vol. I, Text, 1925. Unpaged. Vol. II, Notes, 1926. Pp. 579.

The decision to issue a revision of the old edition of Watson, and to do so as economically as possible, confronted the new editor with peculiar problems. On the one hand, he inherited the commentary and general character of the older edition; on the other hand, he inherited Purser's text (Oxford Classical Texts series), since this volume of selections has been printed from the plates used in the complete text. While this policy has permitted a moderate price, it has given the first volume a patchy page, the inconvenience of no page-numbers, a complicated system of numbering for letters and for lines, many blank spaces on pages where parts of plates could not be perfectly and closely joined, and a system of running heads which is puzzling until explained. The most serious consequence, however, is the fact that Mr. How's hands are tied in a measure by what he has inherited from these two sources. He has not been entirely free to make his own selection of letters, and he has not been entirely free to constitute his own text. It may be taken as a tribute to the soundness of Purser's text that Mr. How disagrees with him so rarely, but it is likely to be disconcerting to the student to find in *Ep.* 31 the text *iter eos per Cappadociam* with no hint of difficulty, and in the note on the passage (II, 256) the statement that "*eos* is superfluous or worse" and that *eo* should be read.

The first volume presents in tabular form finding-lists for the letters included, an alphabetical list of Cicero's correspondents with ref-



erences to the letters to and from them, a useful chronological table (this material being repeated in full in the second volume), and 101 letters arranged chronologically and illustrating very well Cicero's public career. No comment is needed here on the text, since Purser's edition has been fully discussed by others.

The second volume contains, in addition to the repeated material, a bibliography of works most frequently cited and a critical introduction contributed by Professor A. C. Clark. His name is a sufficient review of this section of the book. The letters are presented in five chronological divisions, each with a historical introduction (largely taken over from Watson's edition), while nine appendices are distributed through the book, dealing with letters and letter-writing; the life of Atticus; Cicero's villas; the legal questions involved in the Catilinarian episode; the legal aspects of Caesar's position in Gaul; the calendar; Caesar's powers, honors, and measures; and the distribution of provinces and armies after the death of Caesar. Indices of Greek words, of words and phrases explained in the notes, and of proper names conclude the book.

A reviewer naturally surveys such a book from the standpoint of its availability for classroom use as well as from the standpoint of its scholarly usefulness. It is my opinion that classes in Cicero's letters in American colleges would find the book hard to use. The separation of notes from the text; the somewhat inconvenient devices for numbering pages, sections, and lines; the concentration on Cicero's public life; the neglect of linguistic, stylistic, and literary commentary; and the habit of referring only to Roby and Madvig seem to me serious difficulties from the standpoint of undergraduate classes. More advanced classes interested in politics and public life will find the book useful, though by no means an adequate substitute for the complete unannotated or the complete annotated editions of the letters. For such classes the notes are if anything too full of elementary and of repeated information. We are told, e.g., in varying language of Cicero's unworthy assaults on Vatinius on pp. 150, 157, 199, and 229 of Vol. II. Again, on p. 130 we are informed that a *trinundinum* was 24 or perhaps 17 days, but only on p. 334 are we referred to Mommsen's argument for the former period (*Staatsrecht*, III, 375-76). (Incidentally, the former passage is not indexed under *trinundinum*.)

The historical introductions are conservative and generally sound. The significance of the trial of Rabirius and of the proposed agrarian

measures of Rullus as influences on the policy of Cicero is unnoticed; there is no formal discussion of Cicero's political affiliations or of possible changes therein; Mommsen's interpretation of Caesar's legal position, as revived by Hardy (*Some Problems in Roman History*, 150-206) is accepted. Only rarely does Mr. How allow his personal opinions and sympathies to appear. American reviewers may be disappointed by the rare appearance of American names in the notes: *Classical Philology* is the only periodical listed in his bibliography, and references to it are few. Botsford's *Roman Assemblies* is the only American book there. Deutsch, Merrill, and Frank are the only names of American scholars to be found in the notes, so far as I have observed, and their views are not accepted when mentioned. Boissier is the only Frenchman quoted. Sjögren appears frequently in the notes but is disguised in the bibliography as Sjögven — one of the few misprints, though letters from wrong fonts are not rare.

I shall be sorry if these remarks indicate a generally unfavorable opinion on my part. Mr. How has in my judgment performed a difficult task with conspicuous success. He is thoroughly familiar with the English and German work on the period covered and has used it with discretion and wisdom in the revision of the notes and appendices. He has provided in easily accessible and usable form a mass of information on an important period of Roman history. His edition fills very well the gap between the purely school editions and the monumental Tyrrell and Purser, and supplies in no small degree the need for an annotated Oxford text.

EVAN T. SAGE

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

*The Vigiles of Imperial Rome.* By P. K. BAILLIE REYNOLDS. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. 133, 8vo, 8 plates, 3 plans. \$3.

This excellently equipped book modestly professes to be nothing more than an attempt to put together all that is known up to date about the *Vigiles* — adding to what has long been well collected and discussed what has come to light in very recent days, especially in the processes of excavation. The work is very well done; the author has evidently taken great pains to master the literature of his subject; his footnotes are ample in detail; he has a pleasant style; and the book will be for all ordinary students the proper authority of primary reference on the subject treated.

One may wonder slightly why the antiquated Gruter (cited as Gruter) should be referred to for inscriptions, when we have accessible such volumes of carefully edited selections as those by Orelli-Henzen, Wilmanns, and now pre-eminently Dessau. Indeed, even when the *Corpus* is cited in a work like this, it is well to give also, wherever possible, the corresponding number in (by preference) Dessau. Not every scholar is so happy as to have the complete *Corpus* at his elbow.

Also, why should Mr. Reynolds cite on the *Regionaries* as unreliable an editor as the venerable Preller instead of Jordan? I may perhaps be pardoned for remarking that my own projected edition of the *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, for which I made careful collations in Europe as far back as 1909, was pushed aside by the irruption of the Great War, and I doubt whether, now that I also am laid on the shelf, it will ever reach publication. Some persons may find it useful to know that in 1924 Mr. Voynich, the well-known dealer in ancient MSS and early printed books, was offering for sale in this country a magnificently executed fifteenth century MS of architectural drawings with considerable text matter following the designs. In this miscellaneous text was included a copy of one of the *Regionaries*, thus adding one to the few copies of that document previously known. I had no opportunity to collate it, and do not know the present whereabouts of the manuscript. The price of it was not exorbitant, but far too great for the purse of the library of the University of Chicago. The present resting-place of the volume could doubtless be learned from Mr. Voynich, who is especially kind to all scholars.

E. T. M.

*Catullus: The Complete Poems.* Translated and edited by F. A. WRIGHT. New York: Dutton, n. d. Pp. viii + 250, 12mo. \$3.

It is not clear what "edited" means in this title; for the translation is not accompanied by a text of the original, nor by any notes, and the brief statement concerning the manuscripts is of such a character as to indicate that the translator took no especial interest in them and, indeed, was not very accurately informed about them. A long (87 pages) and pleasantly written introduction can hardly be referred to as a piece of editorial work, since it is separately cited on the title-page.

Lesbia is, in Mr. Wright's view, indubitably the Clodia who was the

wife of Metellus Celer. It is a bit amusing to a somewhat skeptical judge of Roman manners and character to find Mr. Wright seriously of the conviction that if Metellus had not been so busily concerned with politics, he would have been able to exercise an effective marital restraint upon his wife's vagrant affections. I should doubt it. Mr. Wright says that upon the death of her husband Clodia "passed under the nominal control of her brother, Sextus [he must mean Publius] Clodius Pulcher." I do not know what is meant by this sentence. Probably it is due to some mistaken idea about a reversion of a widow to the original *patria potestas*. But even if that were so, Clodia had two brothers living who were both older than Publius. The younger of these two was apparently at the time in exile, but the elder, Appius, was very much alive, of full civic status, and clearly regarded as the head of the family. But that does not mean that even he had any legal authority over his widowed sister.

The quotation of Tennyson's "Row us out from Desenzano" (p. 60) unfortunately contains two errors in words ("then" for "there" and "grove" for "groves") and one in significant punctuation (a comma inserted at the end of the penultimate verse).

Mr. Wright appears to think that *codex Veronensis* was actually discovered "under a bushel measure." It is much more likely that Benvenuto meant only "in an obscure place." Writers in those days not infrequently, I imagine, were acquainted with the Sermon on the Mount. And the hiding-place of the manuscript may have been no more obscure than an out-of-the-way corner of the neglected Chapter Library. It is not safe to say that *codex G* was written in 1375: the concluding *etc.* of the sentence in the colophon about the mortal illness of Can Signorio may very well indicate that the scribe of *G* was abbreviating a longer statement that stood in his immediate archetype, which itself was written in 1375. The matter is one of critical importance. It makes a grave difference whether we are to recognize in *G* a direct copy of the now vanished *Veronensis* or only a copy of a copy. It should have been clearly stated that *R* is not much younger than *G*; and it is unfortunate that the type attributes the discovery of *R* to G. G. Hale instead of W. G. Hale.

The title-page appears to say that "the entire poems" of Catullus are here presented as translated by Mr. Wright. But in his Preface the translator says very neatly, "Though most of the translations are mine, I have thought it well, as a palliative, to give some versions by

other hands and, under the guise of an anthology, to hide, at least in part, the imperfections of my own work." The list of other translators from whom he draws is by no means a short one, and it ranges in time from the period of the Elizabethans downward, and includes some men yet living. Of "the longer and more ambitious poems" the versions of 61, 62, 65, and 67 are by Mr. Wright himself, while 68 is translated by the Hon. G. Lamb, 63 by Leigh Hunt, 66 by Tytler, and the book concludes with the rendering of 64 into fluent Spenserian stanzas by G. F. Ottey (1827). Some may think this last the gem of the whole anthology. It is well for us to be introduced to it.

Mr. Wright's own versions appear to me to be what the school-master critic calls "generally creditable." But a translation of Catullus ought to have a touch of genius in it, or at any rate to show something distinctly more than a knack at foot-measuring and rhyming. If Apollo does not smile on translator as well as on poet, let the translator await the will of the god. Indeed, if I may dare speak plainly, without any specific reference to Mr. Wright's work, I wonder if we have not had enough translation of Catullus for the present, at any rate of Catullus entire. He too often comes out of the translator's kettle not revived and sparkling, but just dead. Only the bones are left, and bones interest hardly anyone but a necrologist. Why not content ourselves for a while with judiciously compiled anthologies?

E. T. M.

*Greece: A Short History.* By M. A. HAMILTON. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Pp. xix + 250. \$.85.

This book is clearly intended for young students who have had no previous acquaintance with Greek history. To them it tells in a very entertaining manner the story of Greece from early Aegean times to the conquests of Alexander. Translations (for the most part new, by authors who have concealed their identity under the initials B.A. and J.J.) from Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch are neatly interwoven with the text, so that the flow of the narrative is never interrupted. Furthermore, there are over a hundred illustrations. Thus a young student gains immediate contact with the literary and archaeological sources upon which our knowledge of the past rests.

In a small volume replete with illustrations, many sacrifices must be made in the interests of brevity. Thus, for example, the short



paragraph on the battle of Aegospotami gives no hint of Lysander's strategy nor of Athenian treason. In the account of the establishment of the Thirty no mention is made of Lysander, and the reader is left to infer that the Athenians abolished their democracy with no external pressure upon them. As a matter of fact, however, the Thirty would not have come into being had not Lysander himself been present in Athens and delivered a threatening speech, demanding their appointment. With reference to the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C. the statement that "moderate men in Athens called on the Spartans to come in and settle things" is misleading. The city party, it is true, summoned help from Sparta and Lysander provided the funds to raise a mercenary army in their interests. Jealousy of Lysander, however, and a desire to thwart his plan of self-aggrandizement were the motives that actuated king Pausanias to come later with the army of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Pausanias was primarily responsible for the political amnesty. The failure to mention Archinus along with Thrasybulus in the return of the exiles and the restoration of the democracy is a serious omission. Aristotle's estimate of the former shows clearly the important part that he played in this critical period (Cf. *Const. of Ath.* 40).

The most serious defect in the entire book is the lack of even a single map. In a country where the configuration of the land has had so much to do in determining the history of its people as has that of Greece, maps are indispensable. Without increasing the bulk of the volume, room could have been provided for a map by omitting Plutarch's story of Diogenes in his tub or the same writer's account of Porus and his elephant.

The book is written in a fascinating manner, although the style sometimes approaches that of a Latin exercise, e.g., p. 102: "The Athenians having finished their wall the city soon began to rise again in new beauty and splendour." The printing is good and on good paper. The price is remarkably low.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ALFRED P. DORJAHN

*Letters of a Roman Gentleman.* Selected from the Correspondence of Cicero and Translated by ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY. With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926. \$4.00.

There were three phases of the problem which Dr. McKinlay set



himself in preparing this volume. First, and not least difficult, is the selection of material. In this he can hardly be expected to satisfy all lovers of Cicero, who may miss this or that favorite passage necessarily excluded from these comparatively narrow limits. But all will acknowledge that thus limited as to space he has shown sound judgment in the selection of his material. The letters he has included contribute each an essential detail in the lifelike picture of Cicero and Rome which the whole book presents. Incidentally, too, as the author points out, striking parallels with present-day conditions and tendencies appear. The effect is enhanced and the book made the more readable by the elimination of the non-essential and of allusions which the general reader might find unintelligible without too much explanation. Thus individual letters are shortened and made more interesting by the omission here and there of phrases, sentences, paragraphs. That these selections and these omissions have been made with sound discrimination perhaps all will agree.

Secondly, and this might seem his main business, the material selected must be translated into English, such English as will convey to readers today the same impression as that made upon the original recipients of the letters. Here Dr. McKinlay has achieved a high success. He uses the language which a cultured man today would use in letters to intimate friends. Here is nothing formal or stilted; frequently indeed appear colloquialisms, sometimes even slang, as must be the case if Cicero's epistolary style is to be reproduced. But the language is always suited to the subject and to the general tone of the letter.

The author is to be congratulated upon his decision to retain the ancient nomenclature in speaking of political institutions and parties rather than to substitute for it modern terms which are misleading when applied to ancient conditions. When Winstedt, for instance, in the Loeb Library translation of the *Letters*, speaks of "guineas" and "division in the House," London rises so vividly before our eyes that we cannot do justice to Rome and the Senate.

Dr. McKinlay's style sometimes becomes epigrammatic. With equal neatness and justice he remarks (p. 118), apropos of Cicero's vacillation, "It is not by his indecisions but by his decisions that we judge a man."

I have noted a few slips, mostly of little importance. The quotation from Shakespeare on page 195 should read: "Nothing in his

life became him like the leaving it." On page 141, "he matched it with most thoroughly seasoned men" is both vague in meaning and inaccurate as a translation. Dyrrazzo, page 135, should be either Durazzo or else Dyrrhacium. The language on page 173 implies that Q. Fabius Maximus was only a candidate at this time, whereas Plutarch (*Caesar* 58) tells us explicitly that he was consul when he died.

In the third place, Dr. McKinlay has equipped his book with just enough explanatory material by way of introduction, chronological table, reader's guide, and running commentary to make an intelligent reading of the book an easy matter for the general reader. Nowhere is this material excessive or obtrusive. I offer the suggestion, however, that where these comments occur in the body of the text a slight difference in the type used would have saved the reader some momentary uncertainty as to whether he is reading Cicero's words or those of the editor.

Dr. McKinlay has made a very valuable contribution to the interpretation of Rome's most interesting personality and of the most critical period of Roman history. One need not be a classical scholar to read the book from cover to cover with the keenest enjoyment, and it is indeed to the general reader that the author especially addresses himself. But the student of classical history also gets in this volume a fresh view of the great Roman, a combination of many elements reduced to a harmonious whole, a true portrait.

WALTER A. EDWARDS

LOS ANGELES HIGH SCHOOL

*Imperial Rome. I. Men and Events; II. The Empire and its Inhabitants.* Translated from the Swedish of MARTIN P. NILSSON by REV. G. C. RICHARDS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1926. Pp. xvi + 376. 24 plates and a map.

Unquestionably the greatest work of the past year in the history of Imperial Rome is Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford), a monument of learning, as pretentious in its way as Gibbon. At no great interval behind may be placed this stout volume of Nilsson's, the distinguished professor of ancient history at the University of Lund, who is well known to English readers through his spirited book, *A History of Greek Religion* (Oxford,

1925). *Imperial Rome*, while it contains many views that will interest mainly the professional scholar, is not too difficult for the general reader and ought to serve admirably as a handbook for college students.

Many a teacher of Roman history, who marches down the centuries of the Republic confidently enough, experiences a certain apprehension, and it may be repugnance, when he approaches the threshold of the Empire, feeling as he does that history proper here becomes all too dim in the shade cast by the great personalities of the emperors. Regarding the virtues and vices of these worthies, the modern historian not infrequently loves to descant in a style that shows little improvement over Tacitus or Suetonius. But it would appear that the problem has been successfully handled by Professor Nilsson, who has chosen to erect a barrier between ruler and ruled.

Thus, not much more than a third of the work is devoted to the lives of the emperors and the events of the times, the personal policy of each several ruler, and the advancement or decline of the Empire when beneath the guidance of his hand. The author is restrained alike in his strictures and his eulogies. Each emperor was possessed of more than an average share of ability; otherwise, he had never attained to the purple. He is kind enough also to assert that their virtues as a rule outweighed their sins. Occasionally he goes to the length of recounting a few picturesque tales of their doings and adventures which seldom have appeared in the pages of serious historians but hardly seem out of place.

The element of positiveness which appears to characterize the personality of Nilsson adds not a little to the stimulation of his writings. Without being wholly dogmatic, he resolutely avoids the use of such words as "possibly" or "probably," choosing rather to abandon an uncertain point as a thing unknown. His sentences are terse and pithy, and Dr. Richards, that very accomplished linguist who renders into English with equal facility Danish, German, and Swedish, has given us a translation undoubtedly of the first rank.

Long before Gibbon's time, philosophers had busied and amused themselves with speculations on the causes of the Empire's decline and fall, and the theme is one which of course commands a perennial interest. In his latest work, Rostovtzeff, after a careful examination of the question, turns away from it as something virtually im-

possible of solution; but he adds the postscript-like suggestion that the too wide dissemination of culture among the lower classes of any nation may perhaps provide a fruitful cause for decay. Nilsson avoids a systematic exploration of the subject, but it none the less presents itself constantly to his mind. He finds a partial solution in the great dependence of Italy on the provinces. In pre-colonial days, the peninsula was self-supporting and therefore self-reliant. Later, the conquest of the outside world left Rome at once its mistress and its slave. When Italy began to batten upon the provinces, her own doom was sealed; for Italic inertia produced presently a dry rot at the heart of the Empire, and when the provinces failed Rome, her ruin was immediate and complete. The author might well have cited the British Isles and the British Empire as the direct antithesis of all this.

If the premises are sound, the conclusion is altogether logical, but the attempt which is made to establish the first is not entirely convincing. He reviews, however, several other causes for Rome's decline, of which two, if not original with the writer, are seldom adduced. The first is the development of feudalism in the Empire as early as the fifth century, a power which strikes at the roots of imperialism; the second is the disappearance of the old Roman military system of tactics. In its latter days, the army reverted to the primitive "shock" method, which the barbarians, after discipline had obtained for so many centuries, imported into the service.

But however one may feel impelled to quarrel with Professor Nilsson in the matter of generalities, the great merits of his book are everywhere apparent. There are excellent chapters on such topics as the frontiers and means of communication. There is a good chronological table, a map, and an index; the illustrations are appropriate and well reproduced.

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*Aeschylus.* With an English translation by HERBERT WEIR SMYTH. In two volumes: Volume II, *Agamemnon, Libation-bearers, Eumenides, Fragments.* (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Wil-

liam Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926. Pp. 528. \$2.50.

Herbert Weir Smyth published in 1922 the first volume of the translation of Aeschylus in the Loeb Classical Library. The second volume appeared in 1926. It contains the *Oresteia* and the fragments. The first one and a half pages are devoted to additions and corrections of the earlier volume, chiefly additions to the lists of editions and translations and a full catalog of editions of the fragments.

An important and valuable feature of this work, which is quite lacking in the Loeb editions of Sophocles and Euripides is the insertion of the fragments. Of Smyth's second volume about 150 pages are devoted to these.

Smyth has given us no perfunctory appendix to the dramas, but the result of a careful and scholarly reworking of the whole material. Each play of which a fragment is mentioned has its introduction, not uncommonly over a page; each fragment has its *apparatus criticus*. On fragment 43 (of the *Danaïdes*), a three-line affair, there is a page and a half of interpretation. When the play from which the fragment is taken is not named, Smyth cites ancient or modern conjecture as to its source. When the authorship of the fragment is in doubt he sometimes gives the reasons why it is ascribed to Aeschylus.

Smyth's translation of the plays properly preserves a modicum of archaic diction. "When that" and "how that" are sprinkled through the work; we find "fallen on sleep" and "urgence." Personally I could well spare *Cho.* 613, "Another dame" applied to a maiden, for which Professor Smyth could doubtless adduce parallels.

Many of Smyth's renderings seem to the reviewer extremely happy, e.g.: *Ag.* 299: "and roused another relay of missive fire"; 1297 f.: "an ox urged on by the power of God"; 1392: "at the birthtime of the flower buds"; 1631: "thy silly yelping"; *Cho.* 268: "the pitchy ooze of flame"; 671: "the presence of honest eyes"; and especially *Eum.* 905 f.: "the breathing gales may pass o'er the land in radiant sunshine."

In *Ag.* 1442 f. Smyth has caught and admirably reproduced a coarse slur of Clytemnestra's that previous translators failed to see, though Plumptre approximated it. They assumed that *σέλα* in 1442 has the same meaning as in 183 and that *ναυτίλων* is an adjective,

but surely in that case the singular number would have been employed.

On the other hand one may question the phrase, "a reunited friend" (*Cho.* 344), and may wonder if *Eum.* 8 really means "Phoebus, who has his name from Phoebe." In *Ag.* 1228 is "lewd hound" an adequate rendering of μισητῆς κυνός?

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## Recent Books

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[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

- ALFÖLDI, A. *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*. 2 Band. Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1926. Tafeln XI. Pp. 108.
- Caesar. *The Invasion of Britain (De Bello Gallico iv. 20-v. 24)*. With introduction, text, and notes. Edited by A. H. ALLCROFT and F. R. MILLS. University Tutorial Press, 1927. Pp. 114. 2s.
- CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. BURY and others. Vol. 5. Athens, 478-401 B.C. Cambridge University Press, 1927. Pp. 576. 21s.
- Cicero. *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Edited with introduction, text, and notes by J. F. STOUT. University Tutorial Press, 1927. Pp. 51. 2s. 6d.
- DE WAELE. *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity*. Dissertation. 1927. Pp. 228.
- FRANCOIS, V. E. *First Latin*, with collateral reading. (Junior Latin Series). Boston: Allyn, 1926. Pp. 550. \$1.40.
- GLEASON, C. W. *A Latin Primer for High Schools, Vocational and Commercial Schools, and Junior High Schools*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1926. Pp. 285. \$1.25.
- GOFFAUX, F. J. *Robinson Crusoeus — Latine Scripsit*. New edition by F. W. GRAFTON. London: Sands, 1927. 3s. 6d.
- GRAY, M. D., and JENKINS, T. *Latin for Today: a first year course*. Boston: Ginn, 1927. Pp. xxxiii + 445 + 58. \$1.40.
- HIGHBARGER, E. L. *The History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 2). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. Pp. 234. Paper, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.00.
- HUELSEN, C. *Forum and Palatine*. Translated into English by HELEN H. TANZER. New York: Bruderhausen. \$3.50.
- HUMBORG, F., and LINNENKUGEL, A. *Ars Latina: Lateinische Sprachlehre*. I Teil: Laut- und Formenlehre. Paderborn: Schöningh. Pp. 167.

- John of Salisbury: Historiae Pontificalis quae Supersunt.* Edited by R. L. POOLE. London: Oxford, 1927. 15s.
- McENTIRE, MRS. A. T. *Outline Studies in New Testament History.* New York: Abingdon, 1927. Pp. 212. \$1.50.
- NIXON, P. *Martial and the Modern Epigram.* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome). New York: Longmans, 1927. Pp. 215. \$2.00.
- OTIS, O. T. *Our Roman Legacy.* Boston: Heath, 1925. Pp. 222.
- PLATO. *Crito.* With introduction, text, and notes by A. F. WATT. University Tutorial Press, 1927. Pp. 60. 2s.
- PRESCOTT, H. W. *The Development of Virgil's Art.* University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. xi + 490. \$4.00.
- REYMOND, A. *History of the Sciences in Greco-Roman Antiquity.* Translated by RUTH G. DE BRAY. New York: Dutton. Pp. 255. \$2.50.
- RICHTER, G. M. A. *Handbook of the Classical Collection of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.* New and enlarged edition. New York: Author. Pp. 387. Paper, \$1.00.
- ROBERTSON, J. C., and CARRUTHERS, A. *Latin Lessons for Beginners.* London: Harrap, 1927. Pp. 474. 3s. 6d.
- SANDYS, SIR J. E. *Latin Epigraphy.* 2nd edition, revised by S. G. CAMPBELL. 50 illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1927. Pp. 348. 12s. 6d.
- SMYTH, ETHEL. *A Three-legged Tour in Greece, March 24-May 5, 1925.* Illustrated. London: Heinemann, 1927. Pp. 159. 7s. 6d.
- STEIN, A. *Der römische Ritterstand.* Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. München: Beck, 1927. Pp. xiv + 503. M. 24.
- Terence. *Terenti Afri Comoediae. Recognoverunt brevique annotatione critica instruxerunt* ROBERT KAUER, WALLACE M. LINDSAY. Editio altera. New York: Oxford, 1926. Pp. xii + 330. Cloth, \$1.75; on India paper, \$2.50.
- TREVELYAN, R. C. *Meleager.* London: Hogarth, 1927. Pp. 52. 5s.
- WALL, J. C. *The First Christians of Britain.* Illustrated. London: Talbot, 1927. Pp. 231. 8s. 6d.
- WIEHN, ELSA. *Die illegalen Heereskommanden in Rom bis auf Caesar.* Bornha-Leipzig: Noske, 1926. Pp. viii + 95.
- William of Ockham. *De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate.* Edited by C. K. BROMPTON. London: Oxford, 1927. 7s. 6d.

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